

A *Vault*  
Full and Impartial  
ACCOUNT  
OF THE  
DISCOVERY  
OF

SORCERY and WITCHCRAFT,  
Practis'd by

JANE WENHAM of *Walkerne* in Hert-  
*fordshire*, upon the Bodies of *Anne Thorn*,  
*Anne Street*, &c. The Proceedings  
against Her from Her being first Appre-  
hended, till She was Committed to  
Gaol by Sir HENRY CHAUNCEY.

ALSO HER  
TRYAL  
AT THE

Affizes at *Hertford* before Mr. Justice POWELL,  
where she was found Guilty of Felony and  
Witchcraft, and receiv'd Sentence of Death  
for the same, March 4. 1711-12.

*Thou shalt not suffer a Witch to live.*  
Exod. c. 22. v. 18.

The Second Edition.

L. O. N. D. O. N. : Printed for E. Curll, at the Dial and  
Bible against St. Dunstan's Church in Fleetstreet. 1712.  
Price 6 d.

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# THE PREFACE.

**T**HE Proceedings against Jane Wenham having made so great a Noise in the whole County, and occasioned so many various Reflections, and the whole Course of the Occurrences having been all along very strange and surprizing, it was thought proper to draw up the following Account of them, both for the Information of the World, and the Vindication of the Persons more immediately concerned in this Prosecution; especially since some People have thought fit, in a Public Manner, to express their Wonder, that Two Divines \* should concern themselves in a Thing of this Nature, as if detecting the most Abstruse, and Hidden Works of the Devil, and his Spiteful and Malicious Vassals, were a Business wholly Foreign to, and inconsistent with, the Duty of a Minister of Christ.

It is humbly hoped, that every Impartial Reader will be at least so far satisfied with this Narrative, as to own there was another Reason for this Prosecution; than either the Knavery or Folly of the Promoters; that what we saw with our Eyes, and heard with our Ears, was at least very extraordinary, and justified a Strict and Solemn Enquiry, even by the Judge, into so many and so strange Mysteries of Iniquity.

When we saw a poor Cripple, not only Arise and Walk, but run with a prodigious Swiftmess; when we heard her complain grievously, and with Tears, of the excessive Torments she was laid under, upon the Threatning of a wicked Neighbour, and this without the least Reason to suspect any Cheat or Trick, the Person being wholly incapable of carrying on such a Design, and  
not

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\* The Reverend Mr. Gardiner, Rector of Walkerne, and Mr. Strutt, Vicar of Ardley.



## The PREFACE

not the least Advantage being to be gained to herself by it; when I say we saw all this, and a Multitude of concurrent Circumstances, all tending to increase and confirm our Suspicions; we thought it high Time to bestir ourselves, if by any Means we might bring the Truth to Light; although I must needs say, we did not expect to be able to bring such clear Proofs as were produced in Court, which were almost all that could be expected in such a Case, where all the World knows that the Evidence must be in a great Measure Circumstantial only; and that we should bring positive Witnesses to a Contract with the Devil, is as unreasonable for others to expect, as it is impossible for us to perform.

But what did it signifie for us to bring what Evidence the Matter would bear, when there were those who had beforehand resolved to believe nothing at all of it, let the Proof be what it would? Some of these slow Believers did afterwards acknowledge themselves surprizingly convinced, their Prejudices giving Way to the Testimony of their Reason and Senses: But it seems it was elsewhere expected, that the Witch should turn herself into a Cat, that Cat into a Dog, that Dog into a Bear, that Bear into a Lion, and that Lion into an Old Woman again, and then it might have been believed she was Guilty.

The Number and Credit of the Witnesses who were sworn, the exact Harmony between 'em, together with the Consideration, that some of them were perfect Strangers to the Prisoner, as well as to the poor Girl, till even the Time of their seeing what they attested; and that the others could have no Reason to put themselves to so much Trouble and Charge, where nothing could be gained by it, but the Guilt of combining to take away a poor Neighbour's Life. These put together, with the Unaccountableness of some of the Facts, unless solved by Witchcraft, have, I doubt not, satisfied most that know them Personally, and heard the Tryal; and as for others that shall read this Narrative, I must farther acquaint them, that the following Account is partly collected out of the Depositions or Informations taken against Jane Wenham upon Oath, before Sir Henry Chauncy, and afterwards delivered in to the Clerk of the Assize; and partly an Account of every Thing remarkable that pass'd, besides what is in the Informations, both during the Time of her Examination before the Justice who committed her, and at her Tryal. And for the Truth of this Part of the Relation, I appeal to the many Eye-Witnesses of those strange Passages, for these Things were not done in a Corner.

## THE PREFACE.

*There were several Gentlemen who would not believe that there are any Witches since the Time of our Saviour Christ, who came to destroy the Works of the Devil: All I shall say to these Arguers is, that they would do well to remember, that St Paul, in his Epistles to the Galatians, C. 5. v. 19, 20. expressly names among the Works of the Flesh Idolatry and Witchcraft, which certainly he would never have done if all Power had been taken from the Devil to assist his Servants in Practices of this Black, and truly Diabolical, Nature; to say nothing of the clearest Evidence to be found in many Authors of Instances of Witchcraft committed long since in our own Nation, and others, particularly that of the Witches of Warbois in Huntingdonshire, of which there is a constant Commemoration every Lady-Day, in a Sermon preached at Huntingdon, by some one of the Fellows of Queen's-College in Cambridge, upon the Subject of Witchcraft.*

*I shall hasten to my intended Narrative, after having just taken Notice, that since the Condemnation of this Jane Wenham, and her being reprieved for some Time by the Judge, not only Anne Thorn, the Principal Sufferer, but also another, named Anne Street, of the same Town of Walkerne, lye in a very dismal Condition, and whenever they can speak, continue to cry out upon Jane Wenham as the Author of all their Torments; of which the Reader may expect to hear more toward the Conclusion of these Papers.*

*In the mean Time I once again declare, that in all Parts of this Account the strictest Regard shall be had for the Truth, and that nothing will be here inserted but what may be depended upon as such. And I desire no Favour, if found Guilty of Insincerity.*

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AN  
ACCOUNT  
OF THE  
PROCEEDINGS

Against JANE WENHAM for  
*Witchcraft, &c.*

**I**T often falls out, that by the Over-ruling Providence of Almighty God, the most Hidden and Private Wickednesses are discovered by the very Means us'd to conceal them, and so it happened to *Jane Wenham*.

One *John Chapman*, a Farmer at *Walkerne*, had long entertain'd a Suspicion, that the strange Deaths of many of his and the Neighbours Horses and Cattle were occasion'd by the Witchcrafts of this Woman, and thought that he himself had suffer'd by them, to the Value of 200 *l*. in a short Time; but not being able to prove any Thing upon her, he did not inform against her, but waited till Time should present a favourable Opportunity of Convicting her. And soon after an Accident fell out, which in its Consequences brought on this Prosecution; I shall relate it in the very Words of the Information of *Matthew Gilston*, Servant to the abovesaid *John Chapman*, taken on the 14th Day of Feb. 1711-12. before Sir *Henry Chauncy*.

*Matthew Gilston* of the Parish of *Walkerne* says upon Oath, That on New-Year's-Day last past, he carrying Straw upon a Fork from Mr. Gardiner's Barn met *Jane Wenham*; who asked him for some Straw, which he refused to give her; when she said she would take some, and accordingly took some away from this Informant.

And farther, this Informant saith, That on the 29th of Jan. last, when this Informant was threshing in the Barn of his

Master John Chapman, an Old Woman in a Riding-hood or Cloak, he knows not which, came to the Barn Door, and asked him for a Penyworth of Straw, he told her he could give her none, and she went away Muttering.

And this Informant saith, That after the Woman was gone he was not able to work, but ran out of the Barn as far as a Place called Munder's-Hill, [which is above Three Miles from Walkerne,] and asked at a House there for a Penyworth of Straw, and they refusing to give him any, he went farther to some Dung-heaps, and took some Straw from thence, and pull'd off his Shirt, and brought it Home in his Shirt; he knows not what mov'd him to this, but says he was forc'd to it, he knows not how.

Thus far this Informant. It was also farther observed by some Persons, who met this Matthew Gilston running on his Fool's Errand, that he went a very great Pace, and when he came to a River he did not go over a Bridge in his Way, but directly thro' the Water. This odd Story, and the strange Account the Boy gave of it, made his Master John Chapman suspect that Jane Wenham had play'd this Trick upon his Servant; and soon after he meeting her, told her of it, and in Heat of Anger call'd her a *Witch* and *Bitch*.

After the Scolding-bout was over, this Jane Wenham thought she had got an Advantage over her Neighbour Chapman, and that she would make him pay for his Words; accordingly on the 9th of Feb. she applies herself to Sir Henry Chauncy for a Warrant against this Man for calling her a *Witch*, expecting not only to get something out of him, but to deter other People from calling her so any more; besides, this Shew of Innocence might make her the less suspected for the future.

She brought John Chapman on the 11th before Sir Henry, who having enquired after her Character, and heard a very ill one of her, did not think fit to give her any Damages for being call'd *Witch*; but told her he would refer her Cause to any one of her Neighbours; she named the Reverend Mr. Gardiner, the Minister of the Town, and John Chapman consenting, they went to him to decide the Controversie between them: Mr. Gardiner having heard her Complaint, advis'd them to live more peaceably together, and ordered John Chapman to pay her a Shilling; but would allow Jane Wenham no farther Satisfaction; at this her Anger was greatly kindled against Mr. Gardiner, and she



she went away in a great Heat, saying, If she could not have Justice here she would have it elsewhere, or Words to that Purpose.

*Revenge* is naturally the first New Thought that is excited by *Anger* in a Wicked Mind ; and since Mr. *Gardiner* had incensed her, she resolv'd not to put it up it seems, nor would she delay the Mischief she had imagin'd, no, not for an Hour. *Anne Thorn*, a Young Woman, between 16 and 17 Years of Age, Servant to Mr. *Gardiner*, was sitting by the Fire-side when *Jane Wenham* was in the House ; her Knee had been just set, (it having been put out by an Accident the Night before,) and Mr. *Gardiner* asked her how she did, she answered much better than she had been while her Bone was out, but look'd a little Pale ; upon this Poor Young Lame Creature it seems *Jane Wenham* must take her Revenge in the following Manner, which I believe any Reader will think wholly unaccountable, and impossible to be done but by Witchcraft ; I shall give you the Account of it as near as I can in the Words of the Three Witnesses that saw it, Mr. *Gardiner*, and his Wife, and Mr. *Bragge*, a Neighbour, who came in accidentally but just before.

Mr. *Gardiner* had not been in the Parlour with his Wife and Mr. *Bragge* above 6 or 7 Minutes at most, since he left *Anne Thorn* sitting by the Fire, when he heard a strange Yelling Noise in the Kitchen, upon which he went out, and found this *Anne Thorn* stript to her Shift-Sleeves, howling, and wringing her Hands in a dismal Manner, and Speechless ; he calling out, Mrs. *Gardiner* and Mr. *Bragge* came immediately to him ; Mrs. *Gardiner* seeing her Servant in that sad Condition, asked her what was the Matter with her ? She not being able to speak, pointed earnestly at a Bundle which lay at her Feet, which Mrs. *Gardiner* took up and unpinn'd, and found it to be the Girl's Gown and Apron, and a Parcel of Oaken Twigs, with dead Leaves wrapt up therein.

As soon as this Bundle was opened, *Anne Thorn* began to speak, crying out, I'm Ruin'd and Undone ; and after she had a little better recover'd herself, gave the following Relation of what had befallen her : She said when she was left alone she found a strange Roaming in her Head, (I use her own Expressions,) her Mind run upon *Jane Wenham* ; and she thought she must run some whither ; that accordingly she ran up the Close, but look'd back several Times at the House, thinking she should never see it more ; that

she climb'd over a Five-Bar-Gate, and ran along the Highway up a Hill; That there she met Two of *John Chapman's* Men, One of whom took hold of her Hand, saying, she should go with them, but she was forced away from them, not being able to speak, either to them, or to One *Daniel Chapman*, whom, she said, she met on Horseback, and would fain have spoken to him, but could not; then she made her Way towards *Cromer*, as far as a Place call'd *Hackney-Lane*, where she look'd behind her, and saw a little Old Woman Muffled in a Riding-hood, who asked her whither she was going? She answered to *Cromer* to fetch some Sticks to make her a Fire; the Old Woman told her there was no Sticks at *Cromer*, and bad her go to that Oak Tree, and pluck some from thence, which she did, and laid them upon the Grond; then the Old Woman bad her pull off her Gown and Apron, and wrap the Sticks in 'em, and asked her whether she had e'er a Pin? Upon her answering she had none, the Old Woman gave her a large Crooked Pin, bad her pin up her Bundle, and then vanished away: After which she ran Home with her Bundle of Sticks, and sat down in the Kitchen stript, as Mr. *Gardiner* found her. This is the Substance of what she related, upon which Mrs. *Gardiner* cry'd out, The Girl has been in the same Condition with *Chapman's* Man; but we will burn the Witch, alluding to a receiv'd Notion, that when the Thing bewitch'd is burn'd, the Witch is forc'd to come in; accordingly she took the Sticks together with the Pin, and threw them into the Fire; immediately, in the Instant that the Sticks were flaming, *Jane Wenham* came into the Room, and enquir'd for *Elizabeth*, the Mother of *Anne Thorn*, saying, she had an Errand to do to her from *Ardley-Bury*, to wit, that she must go thither to wash the next Day. Now this Mother *Thorn* had been in the House all the Time that *Jane Wenham* was there with *John Chapman*, and heard nothing of it, and was then gone Home; Mrs. *Gardiner* bad *Jane Wenham* go to *Elizabeth Thorn*, and tell her there was Work enough for her there, on which she departed; and upon Enquiry made afterwards it was found that she never was ordered to deliver any such Errand from *Ardley-Bury*.

I must here observe to the Reader, that the Distance between Mr. *Gardiner's* House and *Hackney-Lane*, whither this Laine Creature ran, is half a Mile; and that, as I said before, the whole Time in which she went thither, conversed

versed with the Woman above describ'd, and return'd Home, was not above 6 or 7 Minutes at the most, so that she ran at the Rate of above 8 Miles an Hour: A great Swiftnefs this in a Cripple that had her Knee but just set, which from the Time of its being out, to the Time it was set again, was 19 Hours.

To be fully satished of the Truth of what the Girl had related, (which might possibly have never been really performed, but only the Supposition of a Wild Fancy,) Mr. Gardiner and Mr. Bragge went to John Chapman's, and enquired of the Two Men whom Anne Thorne said she had met; they related that they saw Anne Thorn running up the Hill with a Prodigious Swiftnefs, that one of them endeavoured to stop her, but could not; the same also Daniel Chapman afterwards confirm'd, all of them exactly agreeing with what Anne Thorn had related.

There was this Agreement between the Case of Matthew Gilston; and that of Anne Thorn, that to both of them appeared an Old Woman in a Riding-hood, and both were sent on strange Errands, the one to fetch Straw, the other Sticks; but herein they differ, that the Boy continued well afterwards, whereas this was only the Beginning of Sorrows to the unhappy Maid; for,

The next Morning, being the 12th of February, after she had had a pretty good Night's Rest, her Mistress asked her whether she thought she could go to Mistress Adams's House, (a near Neighbour,) to fetch a few Pease? She said she thought she could, and went with Mistress Rose Adams (who had breakfasted that Morning with Mistress Gardiner,) to her House; having got her Pease, as she was coming Home she met Jane Wenham, who asked her why she told such Stories of her, as if she had Bewitched her; Anne Thorn answered, she had said nothing but what was true, and she was the Cause of all her Disorder; to this Jane Wenham reply'd, if you tell any more such Stories of me it shall be worse for you than it has been yet, and shov'd her with her Hand. As soon as Anne Thorn had Limped Home, she told her Mistress with a great Concern, that she had met Jane Wenham, and what had past between them.

When this Circumstance was press'd upon Jane Wenham afterwards, before Sir Henry Chauncy, she deny'd that she had met Anne Thorn, saying, that she was at that Time at Weston, Three Miles off; to disprove which, Thomas Ire-  
land

*land* made Oath, that he saw her in the Town within Three Minutes of the Time the Girl said she met her ; which yet might possibly be false, altho' he had all the Reason in the World to believe his Senses, if the Solution *Jane Wenham* gave of it afterwards may be admitted as Truth, when she said, that altho' it was not she that met *Anne Thorn*, yet it was her Familiar in her Shape ; but of this more at large, when we come to speak of her Confession.

Let us now return to the poor Maid, and see how *Jane Wenham's*, or if you please, the Familiar Spirit's Threatnings were made Good. In the Afternoon the said *Anne Thorn* was taken Speechless, with strange Tremblings, and Convulsions of Body, and yet was all the while sensible, pointing, and making Signs towards *Jane Wenham's* House ; and when she was able to speak, she said she should never be well till she went to fetch more Sticks ; and made many Attempts to go, but was prevented, her Mistress telling her she should not go, unless Company went with her. At last they let her go out, Mistress *Gardiner*, and many others, following her ; there were Two high Five-Bar-Gates in the Way, one of which was set open on Purpose, but instead of going through it, she leap'd very nimbly over the other which was shut, being the same she had vaulted over before. Then she ran a little Way farther, to the bottom of *White-Hill*, her Mistress and the rest following her ; when she came thither, her Legs fail'd her, and she was not able to stand ; so they took her up in their Arms, and carry'd her a little Way back, then she could run to the same Place again, but proceed no farther, her Strength failing her, as before ; thus she was try'd several Times, and always when she came just over-against that Place, for she try'd that Way, she could go no farther. Then Mistress *Gardiner* order'd Two Men to lead her forward by Force, which they assay'd to do ; but when she had got a little Way about the same Place, she shrieked out, as if violently tormented, and begg'd them to let her go back, for something pressed so hard against her that it would kill her if she did not. So they carry'd her Homewards, and when she came to the Gates they could not force her through that which was open, but she leaped nimbly over the other that was shut. When she was returned Home she was in a Fit for some Time, and Speechless ; but when she could speak, they asked her why she could



could go no farther when she was at the bottom of *White-Hill* : She answered, that *Jane Wenham* stood in her Way, and would not let her, and told her she might fetch more Sticks another Time, but should not go if any Company went with her.

After a little Rest, *Anne Thorn* found herself strongly prompted to go to *Jane Wenham's* House, saying, she would have some of her Blood; they let her go out again, she made towards *Wenham's* House, over a Hedge, but tumbling into the Ditch on the other Side, she put her Knee out again; then she called to *Jane Wenham*, who was going into her House, to come to her, saying, 'tis you that torment me, and more Words to that Purpose. *Jane Wenham* answer'd, she was no such Person; *Mistress Gardiner* desired her to come to the Girl, she answer'd, she would not come, she knew what she had to do, and went into her House. Then *Anne Thorn* was brought Home again, and soon after fell into another Fit, pointing earnestly to *Jane Wenham's* *William Borroughs*, a Neighbour, who was present, said, he would fetch her if it were possible, and soon after brought her to the Maid, who was Speechless, and to all Appearance in a Fainting Fit; as soon as *Jane Wenham* approached her, she flew at her, crying out, you have ruin'd me; *Wenham* answered, you are a Liar; no, answer'd the Girl, I am not; you threatned me this Morning; which she having deny'd, went out of the House, and *Anne Thorn* was better that Evening, but full of Pain, her Bone being out. These Things were done before a Multitude of Witnesses, who could not all be impos'd on; and altho' they are very surprizing, yet are nothing so, in Comparison with other Passages that followed.

The next Morning *Mr. Gardiner* sent *Anne Thorn* a Second Time to the Bone-setters, who liv'd Three Miles off; and she returned about Noon pretty well, her Knee being very well set. About an Hour afterwards she was taken again with a violent Fit, which lasted a long Time, and several Times she seemed to be dead; when she came so far to herself that she could speak, she said she must go again to the Tree to fetch more Sticks, and then she was sure she should be well; upon *Mr. Arthur Chauncy's* promising that he and *Thomas Ireland* would follow her at a Distance, and observe her Actions; and that they would endeavour to keep so near to her, as to be able, if possible, to prevent her

her coming to any Mischief, her Mistress let her go. When she came to the Tree, they had followed her so close, (tho' on the other Side of the Hedge, lest she should perceive them,) that they saw her gather some Sticks, pull off her Gown and Apron, and wrap them up, as before; they saw her also reach her Hand to the Hedge, as if she had taken something from thence. Then the Girl came running back so fast that they were left behind her; but upon her looking back, and seeing Mr. *Chauncy*, she fell down against a Hedge, wringing her Hands in a lamentable Manner; they stay'd some Time to see whether she could get up again, and upon her not rising, they came to her, and ask'd her what she ailed? But she could give no Answer. Then they took her up in their Arms, and brought her Homewards; when they came to the Gates, they would have forced her through that which was set open, but could not do it with all their Strength, for she was forced from them over that which was shut with such an incredible Swiftnefs, as cannot easily be imagined, but by those that saw it. Then she ran before them into the House, and flung the whole Bundle into the Fire; Mistress *Gardiner* being by, took it off, and taking out the Sticks, threw them into the Fire. She continued in a Fit some Time after; when she could speak she cry'd out there was another Pin in the Gown; upon searching they found one very crooked; it was then Mistress *Gardiner* asked what she had seen? She said she had seen the Old Woman again, who told her she need not come any more for Sticks, and gave her the Pin through the Hedge; adding that the Old Woman's Hand was so Black, that she knew not whether she had a Black Glove or no; but her Face was so muffled in a Riding-hood that she could not see it: For some Time after this *Anne Thorn* continued pretty well, but soon after Five of the Clock she was taken rather worse than before, and when she spoke she cried out she must go? They asked her whither? She answered, she could not tell, it was but a little Way, and flew up with such Strength that Two or Three Men could not hold her, tho' just before her Eyes were turned, and sunk in her Head, and her Teeth set, so that she seemed to be giving up the Ghost. Mr. *Chauncy* perswaded Mistress *Gardiner* to let her go, and he, with Two or Three more Men, would follow her; when she saw the Way clear, she started, and ran directly to the River at the lower End of the Close. Mr.

*Chauncy*

*Chauncy* caught her just as her Feet were in the Mire, and she was going to plunge herself into the Water. When she was laid hold on, she shrieked out, saying, she must go. Then Mr. *Chauncy*, and the rest, led her over the Bridge, but she was for coming back into the Water. They brought her after this half-way Home to the House, when she cry'd out she must go back again, for her Pains were so bad she could not bear them, and she was very strong, as before ; they brought her to the River again, and she begg'd she might but touch the Water and she should be well ; they took up some Water, and gave it her, but that would not satisfy her, she must go into the River.

I must observe, that afterward when she was better she said upon Oath, That at that Time she was violently tempted to drown herself ; and she thanked her Mistress, and the rest, for not letting her go into the Water, for if she had touch'd it they could not have saved her ; but to proceed.

They made her believe, upon her earnest Request to go into the River, that they would throw her in, and gave her a Swing as if they were really about to do it, and she struggled hard to get out of their Hands into the Water. After this they brought her into the House, where she fell into a Fit again, pointing to *Jane Wenham's* House ; they observing her Eyes close shut, removed her, and set her Face at several times towards several Parts of the Room, yet she continually pointed with her Fingers the same Way. Upon this some that were present were for bringing *Jane Wenham* to the Maid, and accordingly went for her ; she had lock'd herself into her House, and said, she was not well, and refus'd to come ; they us'd all the fair Words they could think of to persuade her, not without offering her Money, if she would but come and speak to the Poor Girl, but all to no Purpose. Then they sent for the Constable, ( who had just receiv'd a Warrant from Sir *Henry Chauncy*, to apprehend her upon Suspicion of Felony and Witchcraft ; ) when the Constable was come, they told her he was there, and desired her to open the Door by fair Means, and not to force them to do it by foul. She answered, she knew what she had to do better than they could tell her ; on which they broke open the Door that was lock'd with Two Locks, and brought her to the Maid, who was lying Speechless, in very great

Misery and Torture, but all the Time very sensible, as she was indeed all along, during the whole course of her strange Disorder. As soon as *Jane Wenham* spoke to her, her Colour came into her Cheeks, and she started up, crying, you are a base Woman, you have ruin'd me, and flew upon her to scratch her, saying, I must have your Blood, or I shall never be well. She scratched *Jane Wenham* in the Forehead with such Fury and Eagerness, that the Noise of her Nails seemed to all that were present as if she were scratching against a Wainscot, yet no Blood followed; *Jane Wenham* holding her Head still, and saying, scratch harder Nan, and fetch Blood of me if you can; yet still no Blood came, altho' her Forehead was sadly mangled and torn by the Girl's Nails; of this Difficulty in fetching of Blood of *Jane Wenham* the Reader will have another more remarkable Instance by and by.

After this the Company began to Expostulate with *Jane Wenham*, telling her, she was a wicked Wretch to abuse a poor young innocent Creature at that Rate; that she had been reputed a Witch for above 20 Years, and other Things they said to that Effect. Then *Jane Wenham* protested she was innocent, and offered to be try'd, by searching her Body, to see whether she had any Teats, or by throwing her into the Water. One of the Company reply'd, there was no Occasion for it at present, but only desired her to let him hear her say the Lord's Prayer; she made several Attempts to do it, but could not, always missing Two or Three Sentences. Mrs. Gardiner bad her try whether she could say it after her, and repeated it Sentence by Sentence slowly to her; but neither could she do this, to the Amazement of all the By-standers. It was observed, tho' she try'd Ten times she could not say this Sentence, *Forgive us our Trespases, as we forgive them that Trespase against us*, nor that, *Lead us not into Temptation*. After this *Jane Wenham* was kept in Custody of the Constable, and the Maid was pretty well that Evening. To all the Account I have given of this Day's Occurrences, Mrs. Gardiner, Mr. Chauncy, Thomas Ireland, and many others, were Witnesses, and attested upon Oath all Circumstances as I have here related them.

The next Morning, being Thursday the 14th of February, Sir Henry Chauncy came down to Walkerne, to the House of John Trigg, and *Jane Wenham* was brought before him; Mr. Gardiner and Matthew Gilston were severally



examined, and gave in their Informations upon Oath; while this was doing, *Anne Thorn* fell into a violent Fit, and at last seem'd to be dead; they carried her out into the Yard, and brought the Old Witch to her; upon this the Blood came immediately into her Face, and she sprung up with great Strength and Fury to scratch *Jane Wenham*, but was prevented by the Interposition of the People, who took her away. This was before a great Multitude of Spectators, who all declared their Belief that the Maid was bewitched, and that this Woman had bewitched her.

After this the Maid was well enough to be examined, and gave a large Account of what had happened to her, being the same in Substance with what is above related. I would insert the Informations at large, but they being all but long Repetitions of the Account already given, which was with great Care collected out of those Informations of *Mr. Gardiner*, *Mrs. Gardiner*, and *Anne Thorn*, and confirmed by the Attestations of *Mr. Chauncy*, and *Mr. Bragge*, who saw most of these Things done, I shall omit them, as very tedious, and now unnecessary, but shall find it needful by and by to insert some others, which are not already taken Notice of. But to proceed, *Sir Henry* ordered Four Women to search *Jane Wenham's* Body, directing them to enquire diligently whether she had any Teats, or other extraordinary and unusual Marks about her, by which the Devil in any Shape might suck her Body. After about an Hour's Search and Consultation, they returned, and affirmed, that they found no such Teats or Marks about her Body; it being now pretty late, *Sir Henry* ordered them to appear again before him the next Morning, at his own House at *Ardley-Bury*, and left *Jane Wenham* in the Constable's Hands.

As soon as *Anne Thorn* was returned Home to her Master's House, she had another Fit as grievous as any before, and was Speechless, but very Sensible; upon *Mr. Gardiner's* asking her whether he should pray by her? She held up her Hands as a Sign that they should; and as soon as he had repeated Three or Four Sentences of the Lord's-Prayer, she fell down on her Knees, and rehearsed the Prayers after the Minister as well as any of the Company. About half an Hour after she had another Fit, and was recovered out of that also by Prayer; then they kept her Reading till Four of the Clock in the Morning, when she went to Bed,

(having had no more Fits,) and rested pretty well that Night.

The next Day (being the 15th) they all came before Sir Henry again, at *Ardley-Bury*, where the first that gave Evidence was Mrs. *Gardiner*, who confirmed all the Particulars above related, giving her Maid an extraordinary Character for her Sobriety, Diligence, and good Temper, by which she had gain'd the Love of all the Neighbourhood. Before Mrs. *Gardiner* gave her Information, *Jane Wenham* fell on her Knees at her Feet, begging her, for God's Sake, not to swear against her, and us'd many Expressions of Fear lest she should be sent to Gaol, not without dreadful Imprecations on herself if she were not innocent, and declared herself ready to submit to the Water Experiment; but Sir Henry would by no Means allow of that Sort of Trial, it being Illegal, and Unjustifiable.

The Reverend Mr. *Strutt*, Minister of *Ardley*, asked her before all the Company whether she could say the Lord's-Prayer? She answered, she could, and attempted several times to do it, going on very readily till she came to *Forgive us our Trespases, &c.* which she could not repeat, nor these Two Sentences together, [*Lead us not into Temptation, but deliver us from Evil,*] but would thus express 'em, [*Lead us not into no Temptation and Evil,*] or [*Lead us into Temptation and Evil,*] or [*Lead us not into no Temptation, but deliver us from all Evil,*] and thus she was try'd Six or Seven Times together. When she found she could not with all her Endeavours say the Lord's-Prayer, she try'd to excuse herself, by alledging she was much disturb'd in her Head by the Hurry she was in, saying, she wanted Rest. Upon which Mr. *Strutt* promised to come to her, and try her again the next Morning. In the mean Time the Poor Maid had another dismal Fit, as before, and was recovered out of it by Prayer. Soon after she had another, and when her Eyes were shut, the Witch was brought to her privately; then she immediately flew at her again with great Fury, saying, Are you come to plague me here too? You are a base Woman, and more to that Purpose.

Besides Mrs. *Gardiner*, there were several other Witnesses sworn, particularly *Susan Aylott* of *Walkerne*, whose Evidence being very remarkable, I shall insert it in her own Words.

## The Information of Susan Aylott before Sir Henry Chauncy.

**S***usan Aylott, the Wife of William Aylott, of the Parish of Walkerne, saith upon Oath, That about 12 Years ago last Christmas, she, this Informant, was sent for to the Wife of Richard Harvey, lying very Ill in a strange Condition; and as soon as she came thither Jane Wenham followed her, and she, this Informant, wonder'd that Jane Wenham followed her, since Richard Harvey's Wife had told her that she, the said Jane Wenham, had bewitched her: Then Jane Wenham went under the Window where the sick Woman lay, and said, Why do they let this Creature lye there? Why don't they take her and hang her out of the Way? At which she, this Informant, had some Words with Jane Wenham, saying, Take you, and hang you out of the Way; and then Jane Wenham answer'd, Hold you your Tongue, I don't meddle with you, and that Night the sick Woman aforesaid died.*

And this Informant farther saith, *That soon after Jane Wenham came to this Informant's House, and look'd upon a Child which was in her Lap, and stroaked it; and said, Susan, you have a Curious Child; you and I had some Words, but I hope we are Friends; and asked this Informant to lend her a Glass to carry some Vinegar in from the Shop; then this Informant lent Jane Wenham a Glass, who went away: And this Informant was afraid of her Child, remembering she was thought to have bewitched Richard Harvey's Wife.*

This Informant farther saith, *That on Sunday following she was at her Brother Jeremy Harvey's House with her Child, and that her Child was taken in a grievous Condition, stark Distracted, and so died the Thursday following. And this Informant saith, She thinks that Jane Wenham bewitched her Child; and saith also, That Jane Wenham has had the Reputation of a Witch for several Years before.*

The Reason why Jane Wenham should bewitch Harvey's Wife, (as we have since been informed by Thomas Harvey, her Son,) was as follows: This Jane Wenham's Husband had desired Richard Harvey to speak to the Town-Crier at Hertford to cry down his Wife, lest any Person should trust her to his Dammage, and Richard Harvey had accord-  
ingly

ingly done it. The Occasion of her bewitching *Aylott's* Child may be gathered from her Evidence : There was afterwards at the Trial another Witness, who swore to the Death of a Nurse-child of hers upon *Jane Wenham's* stroaking it ; but this not being sworn before Sir Henry, we shall defer the farther Relation of it till we come to the Trial itself.

Another Evidence was Mr. *Thomas Adams*, Junior, of *Walkerne*, whose Information we shall likewise insert at large, the Substance of it not having been related before.

### The Information of Mr. *Thomas Adams*, Junior, of *Walkerne*.

**T** *Thomas Adams*, Junior, of *Walkerne*, maketh Oath, That about Three Weeks, or a Month, before Christmas last, he met *Jane Wenham* in his Turnip-Field with a few of his Turnips, which she was carrying away, and upon his Threatning her she threw them down ; he, this Informant, told her she might keep them, for she should pay Dear for them ; then she was very Submissive, and begg'd Pardon, saying, she had no Victuals all that Day, and had no Money to buy any ; afterwards they parted, and he saw her not after : But on Christmas-Day Morning One of his best Sheep died without any Signs of Illness found upon the Body after it was open'd, and Nine or Ten Days after died another Sheep in an unaccountable Manner, and shortly after Two more Sheep died also, none of them having any Marks of a Disease upon 'em, but being Sound in all their Parts, as his Shepherd informs him : He also saith, That his Shepherd tells him, that one other Sheep was taken strangely, skipping, and standing upon its Head, but in half an Hour was well, and continues so ; and another Sheep was likewise Ill Two or Three Days, but is now well again : And *Jane Wenham* having the Common Fame of a Witch, he does believe that if they were bewitch'd she did bewitch them.

There were also sworn at the same Time *William Burrough's*, and *Thomas Ireland* ; the former swore to his fetching *Jane Wenham* to Mr. *Gardiner's* House, as is above related, when *Anne Thorn* was in her Fits ; and that *Jane Wenham* had had the Reputation of a Witch for above Ten Years last past : *Thomas Ireland* attested that he met

*Jane*



*Jane Wenham*, within Three Minutes of the Time when *Anne Thorn* said she Threatned her, but was not any farther Interrogated at that Time ; the other Particulars, in which he was concerned, having been fully depos'd before by Mr. and Mrs. *Gardiner*.

After this they were dismiss'd, and the Witch deliver'd into the Constable's Hand. The Maid had several Returns of her Fits that Night, but was always recovered out of them by Prayers.

Next Day, being the 16th, the Reverend Mr. *Strutt*, according to his Promise made to *Jane Wenham*, to try her once more whether she could say the Lord's-Prayer, went down to *Walkerne*, and call'd upon Mr. *Gardiner* to go with him to the Prisoner at the *White-House* in the Town ; when they were come thither, they found one Mr. *Archer* of *Sandon*, a Relation of *Jane Wenham's*, with her ; they went into a Room, and desired that we might be brought to them, which being done, Mr. *Strutt* told her, in the Hearing of Mr. *Gardiner*, that he hoped she was now in a good Temper, and her Head settled ; she answered, yes, and that she had a good Night's Rest : Then Mr. *Strutt* reply'd, that he was come according to his Promise, to see whether she could say the Lord's-Prayer ; she answer'd she believed she could, for she had try'd several Times in the Night, and she made no doubt but she could say it, and accordingly she essay'd several Times to do it, but could not, making the same Blunders as before, tho' she could repeat the rest of the Prayer perfectly well : After this *Jane Wenham* was asked whether she had any Hand in bewitching *Anne Thorn* ? To which at first she gave no positive Answer ; but upon Mr. *Strutt's* telling her, that if she was Guilty of such a Vile Fact, it would be the best Thing she could do, both for the Salvation of her own Soul, and the Good of others, to confess ; then she began to relent a little, and desired Mr. *Strutt* to go with her into another Private Room, and she would declare to him what she had to say ; but he being desirous that Mr. *Gardiner*, the Minister of the Parish, and her own Kinsman *Archer*, should hear all, press'd that they might be present, which she consented to ; and before Mr. *Gardiner*, and her Cozen *Archer*, Mr. *Strutt* first asked her sincerely to tell him whether she was a Witch ? She said she was ; then he asked her again, whether she had not a Hand in bewitching *Anne Thorn* ? She said she had a Hand in be-  
witching

witching *Anne Thorn*, but there was another who was as deep in it as herself: Then he asked her what induced her to do such a Wicked Act? She reply'd, the Girl had once vexed her. Then it was thought fit to ask her, whether she did not meet *Anne Thorn* on Tuesday Morning as she came from Mrs. *Adams's*, and Threaten her, as she, the said *Anne Thorn*, told her Mistress? She answered she was not at Home at that Time; Mr. *Strutt* asked her if it was not herself, whether it was not her Familiar in her Shape? She confess'd it was her Familiar in her Shape. After this Confession in general, that she was a Witch, and had bewitched *Anne Thorn* in particular, they asked her farther how long she had lived in this Course of Witchcraft? She answered above Sixteen Years; and that it was before her first Husband died, who came to a very Miserable End, and was supposed to have been bewitched by her. Then they asked her what it was that induced her to enter into this Familiarity with the Devil? She said it was a Malicious and Wicked Mind; for when any of her Neighbours vexed her she used horrid Curses, and Imprecations, on which the Devil took Advantage over her: After this they desired her to inform them who were her Confederates? She named Three Women of *Walkerne*.

This is an exact Account of her Confession, as Mr. *Gardiner* added it to his former Information upon Oath; and Mr. *Strutt* also affirmed to me to be true, and gave it in Evidence afterwards at the Assizes, of which more when we come to the Trial; Mr. *Archer*, her Kinsman, was so fully satisfied with this free and unconstrained Confession, that he declared he had not one Word more to say in her Behalf.

Mr. *Strutt* and Mr. *Gardiner* thought themselves obliged to acquaint Sir *Henry Chauncy* with what had pass'd, and came to him, and told him what she had confess'd, and whom she had accused of being her Accomplices; leaving it to him to do what he thought good in the Matter; Sir *Henry* immediately sent a Warrant for the Three Women whom she had named, and they were brought to *Ardley-Bury*, *Jane Wenham* was also sent for, as were Mr. *Gardiner*, Mrs. *Gardiner*, and the Girl; *Jane Wenham* was put into a separate Room from the rest, and privately examined by Sir *Henry*, but could fix no one particular Fact upon any one of those whom she accused: In the mean Time *Anne Thorn* was in as Violent a Fit as any she had had yet, and her  
Eyes

Eyes fast closed, every one of these Women was brought to the Maid, touched her, and spoke to her, but she took not the least Notice of them. After this *Jane Wenham* was brought privately to her, and immediately she flew up with great Strength and Fury, crying out, *What, are you come again to Torment me?* And would have scratched her as formerly: After this the Women were discharged till farther Evidence should come in against them.

Come we now to the Poor Maid, who is to suffer still more and greater Pains, and to struggle with more Violent Temptations than before: After her Return Home from Sir *Henry Chauncy's* she continued very restless, and wanted to go out, but they would not suffer her: It was observed that she did not point as usual to *Wenham's* House, and being asked the Reason of it, she said *Jane Wenham* would not let her; she had several Fits that Day. (for whenever she left off Reading a Fit came upon her,) but was constantly recovered by Prayers: About 7 or 8 at Night she said she saw Things like Cats appear to her, telling her she must go; she said also, that always before a Fit she saw a Cat, which would not only appear to her, but speak, and tell her several Things, tempting her to go out of Doors. It was also taken Notice of that a dismal Noise of Cats was at that Time, and several Times after, heard about the House, sometimes their Cry resembling that of Young Children, at other Times they made a Hellish Noise, to which nothing can be resembled; this was accompany'd by Scratchings, heard by all that were in the House, under the Windows, and at the Doors, which startled and affrighted them all to a great degree; and several People, particularly *James Burville*, *Thomas Ireland*, and others, saw these Cats, sometimes Three or Four in a Company, which would run to *Jane Wenham's* House whenever any Body came up to them; Mr. *Chauncy* hearing a knocking at the Door, went out with *James Burville*, (Sir *Henry Chauncy's* Man,) and saw Two or Three of them to near him, that he suppos'd they were not above half a Yard before him; he endeavoured to strike at them, but his Arm was stay'd, and he had no Power to touch them, tho' they stood staring in his Face.

*Jane Wenham* had said to Mr. *Gardiner*, and others, that the Maid should be well that Night; and so it had like to have proved in that Sense of the Word, in which it is usual to comfort the near Relations of one lately deceased, by saying *he is well*; for now she had another violent Fit.



from which, no, not Prayers, that never before failing Remedy, could relieve her; she was cold as a Dead Corpse, her Jaws were fallen, her Nose pinched, her Pulse gone, and several that applied their Mouths to hers affirmed there was not the least Breath coming from her; Mr. Gardiner had recommended her Soul to God; and all that saw her, (who were very many of the Neighbours,) suppos'd her really dead, she lying without any Motion or Heat, or other Symptom of Life; Mr. Strutt also was present, and joined with them in Prayer till there were no Hopes; at last it was resolved to send for *Jane Wenham*, tho' it was then very late at Night; as soon she came into the Room the Maid started up, and flew at her with amazing Strength and Fierceness, saying, as before, *Are you come again to Torment me? I'll have your Blood, and tear you to pieces*; which she would have done if she had not been kept down by main Force of Three or Four Men, who could hardly hold her; immediately after this she was well again, having a lively Colour in her Cheeks: A convincing Proof this, (with Submission to the Freer Thoughts of those Men, who, to avoid the Belief of one Thing, because they see some Difficulties in it, run into a Thousand Absurdities on the other Hand;) a convincing Proof this, I say, that it was neither any *Natural Distemper* that produced these wonderful Effects, nor yet any *Trick* or *Cheat* put upon the many Spectators. For admitting that an *Hysterical Fit* might reduce a Patient to the Condition this Girl was in before the Witch came into the Room, was it ever known that any Person was so suddenly recovered by ordinary Means from such a State? Or supposing the Maid had a Desire to counterfeit, is it possible to counterfeit Death itself, and act it so well, that neither Heat, Breath, nor Pulse, shall be discerned by Twenty Persons that are present, and use all their Endeavours to perceive either of these, but cannot find 'em? I must confess I find no Difficulty in believing the Power of Evil Spirits and Witches, so great as that of attributing these Appearances either to the Effects of a Natural Disease, or to the Dexterity of a Counterfeit; but of this more hereafter: Let us now go on with the Relation of these strange Events, which begin to thicken upon us apace, every Hour almost affording something still more and more surprizing. As Mr. Chauncy was talking with *Jane Wenham*, pressing her to take off the Charm, and release the Maid from her Torments, if it was in her Power,



(as she seem'd to hint it was, by saying the Girl should be well,) he observed, *That a Pin came into her Fingers, (I make use of his own Words, which I now transcribe from an Account of this Matter, written by his own Hand,) he knew not how, for he was very sure she pluck'd it out nowhere, nor had it in her Hands before; at which he snatch'd it from her, saying, Are you going to bewitch her again with this Pin? And the Maid crying out for her Blood, he took Jane Wenham's Arm, and ran the Pin into it Six or Seven Times, finding she never winced for it, but held her Arm as still as if nothing had been done to it; and seeing no Blood come, he ran it in a great many Times more, still no Blood came, but she stood talking, and never minded it; then again he ran it in several Times more; at last he left it in her Arm, that all the Company might see it run up to the Head; and when he pluck'd it out before them all, there just appeared a little thin Watry Serum, but nothing that you can call Blood. Thus far Mr. Chauncy, after this Jane Wenham was sent away, who pass'd the rest of the Night in Singing and Dancing, as she had done some Nights before, saying, the Maid should be well that Night.*

After this the Maid had one Fit more, but was recovered out of it by Prayer, and continued so well that she could walk about, and rested pretty well till Nine or Ten in the Morning, when she had another Fit, but was recovered out of it also by Prayers.

Towards the Evening of the next Day, being Sunday the 17th of Feb. her Fits came on her very thick, and Mr. Chauncy first perceived Pins which were brought to her Hands by invilible Means; this also George Chapman, and afterwards many others, took notice of, tho' Care had been taken that not a Pin was in any of her Cloaths, (the Reason of which was, because, she said, she was often tempted to destroy herself by Pins.) When she had got a Pin, she was observed to smile, and look very pleasant, and afterwards would slyly convey it to her Mouth; Mr. Chauncy took several from her, not without great Difficulty, she clenching her Hands very fast to hold 'em; Five of them he kept, and would have produced in Court, but the Judge did not think it necessary: After he had taken several from her, which she would find in her Hair, in her Gown, on her Apron, and in any Place where she laid her Hand, George Chapman took from her another; they were all very crooked: After this her Hands were ty'd down, and she was pinion'd in the same Manner as we pinion condemned Ma-

lesactors, yet she would endeavour to get her Hands to her Mouth; then they ty'd her Hands behind her, but still they observed, by the Motion of her Mouth and Throat, that she seemed to receive and swallow something, on which *George Chapman* clapt his Hand to her Mouth, and said that he plainly felt a Pin striking against his Hands; and altho' several Times they saw the Pins, yet they could catch them no more, they being as strangely convey'd away as they came: This sad Sight concerned *Mrs. Gardiner* more than all that had past, and made her despair of her Maid's Life; and being tired out with Grief and Fatigue, she withdrew herself and Children to a Neighbour's House, not being able to bear such sad Sight any longer.

This Evening they were advised to take some of the Girl's Urine, and put it into a Stone-bottle, tye the Cork down, and set it over the Fire, which they did, and sent to the House where the Witch was one that should observe whether she shew'd any more than ordinary Uneasiness; it was found that exactly at that Time she seem'd in great Pain, and shed Tears plentifully, ( which she never was observed to do before or since, ) and continued seemingly in Misery and Torture till the Time that the Bottle flew with a Report as great as that of a Pistol, and then she was very Merry, Singing and Dancing, as before: It was also taken Notice of by Two Men that sat up with *Jane Wenham*, that in the Evening she pull'd out her Pin-Cushion, which was stuck full of Pins, and that in the Morning when she produced it again they were all gone, and she wanted a Pin to pin up her Gown. These Men farther said, that they observed that she had often crooked Pins in her Mouth, with what Design, or to what Purpose, they knew not; but I think we may reasonably conjecture when we consider the Condition of the Unhappy Maid, who continued finding Pins where-ever she cast her Eyes; and when she was put to Bed, and her Hands ty'd down, she was seen to lick several off the Pillows, so that they were forced narrowly to watch her: The Noises of screaming of Cats, and scratching at the Windows and Doors, still continued, but the Girl had no farther Harm that Night.

It was thought high Time to put the *Mittimus* in Execution against *Jane Wenham*, ( who had been respited for Two Days upon her Confession, ) and to send her to Gaol;

but

but before she went off, Mr. Gardiner, Mr. Strutt, Mr. Chauncy, and Mr. Bragge, went together to her at the *White-Horse*, where Mr. Strutt put her in Mind of her former Confession, and persuaded her to give Glory to God by a full and sincere Discovery; but to no Purpose, she being full of Equivocations, and Evasions, now confessing, and anon denying what she had confest. She was particularly asked in what Manner she made a Contract with the Devil? But we could make nothing of her Answer, save that an Old Man did Spit upon her. Being again desired by Mr. Strutt to tell him exactly, to the best of her Remembrance, the Time when she entred into Covenant with Satan? She said it was above Sixteen Years ago. She owned also, as before, that it was an envious and wicked Mind that gave the Devil this Advantage over her. Being asked more particularly, she would give us no direct Answer, but said we lay in wait for her Life, and would hang her from her own Mouth. After this her Daughter came to her, and brought her a Common-Prayer-Book, which she with Tears desired her to make the best Use of that she could, and to prepare for Death by Repentance. But the Mother, instead of shewing the least Signs of a relenting Mind, or Concern for the sad Condition we was in, gave her Daughter such a *base, wicked Look*, as I am not able to describe, and bad her mind what she said to her about some Flax, Hemp, and other Goods, which she disposed of with the greatest Unconcernedness, and away she went. I think it it proper here to insert the Informations of the Two Men that conducted her to Prison, as they were taken afterwards before Sir Henry Chauncy.

The Information of *Uriah Wright* of *Walkerne*, against *Jane Wenham*, taken before Sir Henry Chauncy, Kt. this 28th Day of February, 1711-12.

**U***riah Wright* of *Walkerne* saith upon Oath, That on Sunday last was Sevensnight he asked *Jane Wenham* whether she had seen the Devil or no? She, the said *Jane Wenham*, answered, she had seen him following her when she has look'd over her Shoulder, and when she turned her self round he vanished away like a Shadow. This

This Informant farther saith, *That she, the said Jane Wenham, told him, that something us'd to come to her House, and give Three Knocks, and jumble at the Door; that she knew it was he, (meaning the Devil,) and that he (meaning the Devil) would have had her hang herself in the Buttery, or drown herself in the River.*

This Informant farther saith, *That she, the said Jane Wenham, hath for many Years been reputed a Witch.*

## The Information of Thomas Harvey of Walkerne.

**T**homas Harvey of Walkerne saith upon Oath, *That he heard Jane Wenham say the same Words contained in the Information of Uriah Wright, and that Jane Wenham has been reputed a Witch these Ten Years.*

I have inserted these Informations, not because I think 'em very material, but chiefly because I would give the Reader the Sum of all the Informations, and shall not elsewhere meet with so proper an Opportunity of mentioning these.

Leave we now *Jane Wenham* in the Gaoler's Custody, and let us see what is done at Home. *Anne Thorn* continued to have her Fits, but was recovered as usual by Prayers; and this Night was a Discovery made more surprizing than any Thing that has been yet related. As these unaccountable Passages brought to Mind several Old Stories of Witches, it was among other Things remembered, that strange Things have been found in the Pillow of the Person bewitch'd. This put their Curiosity upon searching the Maid's Pillow, (which I must observe was a little Down Pillow, which Mrs. Gardiner had herself newly stuffed) This was accordingly done, and there was found in the Down a great many Cakes of small Feathers, so closely joined together, that an ordinary Force could not pull them asunder. The particular Account of this surprizing Appearance the Reader may expect when we come to speak of Mr. Bragge's Evidence at the Trial, he having spent half an Hour the next Morning in viewing and comparing Two of these Cakes to each other, with a more than ordinary

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Curiosity. Mr. Bragge was very desirous to have some of these Cakes preserved, in order to be produced in Court, but was over-ruled by others, who not without Reason supposing this to be the Charm, would have it all burnt, in hopes the Effects of it might cease. And it is remarkable, that after the burning these Feathers the Maid was better, and had no more Fits till the Assizes: But still was disturbed with the Noise of Scratchings, and Appearances of Cats, till Mr. Chauncy kill'd one of them which knocked at the Door, and after that the dismal Cries ceased.

I cannot here omit one Part of the Additional Information of *Anne Thorn*, taken before Sir Henry Chauncy, March the 1st.

She says, *That in the Morning of the 26th of February, as she was lying in Bed, she saw a Cat sitting in the Window, which spoke to her, and told her she should have more Pins: and that casting her Eyes on the Sheets, she saw a large crooked Pin, but would not touch it, and bid her Head in the Bed-cloaths, and soon after that looked in the same Place, and the Pin was gone, as was the Cat also.*

She says also, *That on Friday the 29th of February, in the Afternoon, Jane Wenham appeared to her at the Window, and call'd to her, bidding her come out of the Doors, but she told her she would not come, and repeated the Lord's Prayer; that when Jane Wenham disappeared, but afterwards came Twice to the Window again, and finding her Reading, went away, and troubled her no more.*

I have now finished my Relation of what past before the Trial; and for the sake of Brevity, and to prevent Repetitions, I have cast the whole Substance of the Informations into the Form of a continued Narrative, but with that Care and Caution, that as nothing that was sworn to is admitted, so neither is any Thing material related, but what is upon Oath. Come we now to the Proceedings at the Assizes. We found great Difficulties at the very first, most People who had seen nothing of it themselves, nor heard any Thing, but imperfect Stories, and flying Reports, being very inclinable to believe nothing at all of it; but this did not so much discourage us, as a Mistake which we have too much Reason to believe was wilful, in laying the Indictment. We were told very confidently, that if we laid for bewitching *Anne Thorn* it would not amount to Felony.

lony, she being alive, altho' with Submission to that Gentleman's Knowledge in the Law there are many Instances to the contrary. I shall mention but one, *Julian Cox* was Indicted at the Summer Assizes at *Taunton*, in *Somersetshire*, in the Year 1663, before Judge *Archer*, for practising *Witchcraft upon a Young Maid*, whereby her Body languished, and was impaired of Health, by Reason of *strange Fits*, upon Account of the said *Witchcraft*, (which was exactly our Case,) and was upon that Indictment found Guilty, and executed Three or Four Days after. But it seems we were not suffer'd to lay our Indictment thus; nay, we were told by the Person, whose Business it was to draw it up, *that he neither could, nor would, lay it so*; and afterwards, when we came into Court, we found, to our great Surprize, that she was Indicted only for conversing familiarly with the Devil in the Shape of a Cat, and not a Word, as we could hear, of *Anne Thorn*.

However, we thought ourselves able to prove even this by Two or Three Witnesses, the main of our most positive Evidence being now made meerly Circumstantial. When the Bill was presented to the Grand-Jury *Anne Thorn* was in a Fit, occasioned by the Sight of *Jane Wenham* in the Court, When the Witnesses were there sworn to the Evidence they should give the Grand Inquest, but was soon recovered out of it by Prayer, and was well enough to give her Evidence to the Grand-Jury, as did Four or Five more of the Principal Witnesses, and the Bill was soon found to be true.

About Nine in the Morning, *March* the 4th, the Trial came on before Mr. Justice *Powell*. After the usual Formalities, and the Prisoner having pleaded not Guilty, and put herself on her Trial, the Jury were sworn, and the Witnesses called over, being Sixteen in all.

The first Evidence that was sworn was *Anne Thorn*, who going to relate what had happened to her, fell into a Fit, being taken Speechless, with violent Convulsions, and was very strong; my Lord said, that he never heard that in any Witches Trial before the Person afflicted fell into a Fit in Court; but for the Satisfaction of the Jury he permitted the Prisoner to be brought near her, and to speak to her, upon which the Girl flew at her with great Fury, as usual.

Then Mrs. *Gardiner* was sworn, who gave a very full and exact Account of what had passed to her; leaving the

the House on *Sunday*, the 17th of *February*, when the *Pins* were brought to her Servant, *Anne Thorn*; her Evidence was long, and very particular, being the same in Substance with the above-written Narrative. In the mean Time *Anne Thorn* had another Fit, and it being proposed that she might be pray'd for in Court, my Lord at present was unwilling, saying, *She will come to herself by and by.*

The next Evidence was the Reverend Mr. *Gardiner*, Rector of *Walkerne*, who related the Quarrel between *John Chapman* and the Prisoner, which was referred to him, told the Story of *Anne Thorn's* running the first Time to fetch Sticks, and the Prisoner's coming in when they were burning, proceeded to all the Particulars, and concluded with the above-mentioned Account of her Confession to him, and Mr. *Strutt*, he having been an Eye-witness to all the strange Passages.

The next was the Reverend Mr. *Robert Strutt*, Vicar of *Ardley*, who attested the Prisoner's Confession at large, and deposed, that he was present, and saw *Anne Thorn* in several of her grievous Fits, out of which she was recovered by Prayer; he said also that he tried the Prisoner often to see whether she could say the Lord's Prayer, and that she could not do it, naming the Sentences she could not say: When he was talking of the Recovery of *Anne Thorn* out of her Fits by Prayer, my Lord asked him what Prayers were used, he answered, several out of the Office for the Visitation of the Sick, and other Parts of the Common-Prayer: My Lord was pleased to say, *That he had heard there were Forms of Exorcism in the Romish Liturgy, but knew not that we had any such in our Church. However, he was glad to find there was such Virtue in our Prayers.*

Afterwards *Anne Thorn* continuing in her Fit, the Reverend Mr. *Chishull* offer'd, and was permitted to pray; he used that Form in the Office for the Visitation of the Sick which begins, *The Almighty Lord, who is a strong Tower, &c.* and repeated the Lord's Prayer, upon which the Colour came into the Maid's Cheeks, and the Jury, and others that were near her, heard her distinctly repeat the Petitions of the Lord's Prayer after the Minister. It was extremely well taken by all true Lovers of the Church; that Mr. *Chishull* should offer his Assistance at that Time, when its Prayers were ridicul'd by too many that were present, tho' indeed his acting in this



Cafe was but agreeable to the rest of his shining Character.

Another Witness was Mr. *Arthur Chauncy*, who deposed, that he was present at the Second Time of *Anne Thorn's* running for Sticks ; that then she went no farther than the bottom of *White-Hill*, her Strength failing her, (as is above related ; ) that he followed *Anne Thorn* at a Distance when she went the Third Time, but behind an Hedge, so that she did not see him ; that he saw her go to the Tree, pull off the Sticks, wrap 'em in her Apron, and come running Home. That when she fell down, he and *Thomas Ireland* took her in their Arms, and brought her Home ; that she was forced from them, and went over a Five-Bar-Gate as nimbly as a Greyhound, which Words my Lord taking Notice of, he again affirmed upon his Oath, that she went over as swiftly as ever he had seen a Greyhound leap over such a Gate. That he had seen *Anne Thorn* in several of her Fits, and that she always recovered upon Prayers, or *Jane Wenham's* coming to her ; and particularly related at large an Account of the greatest Fit of all, when she was given over for Dead, but recovered upon the Approach of the Prisoner, altho' at that Time Prayers were insufficient. He related, that he prick'd the Prisoner several times in the Arm, but could fetch no Blood from her. That he saw Pins in the Hands of *Anne Thorn*, when there were none in her Cloaths, nor anywhere within her Reach ; that he took several of these Pins from her, which he was ready to produce. The Judge told him *that was needless, he supposed they were crooked Pins*. Then Mr. *Chauncy* proceeding to relate, that upon hearing a great Noise of Cats screaming about the House, he went out several times, and saw several of them together ; that he heard them cry sometimes like Children ; that once he was not able to strike them, but afterwards he kill'd one of them. Being asked with what ? He answered, with a Setting-staff. He said also, that he saw the Feathers taken out of the Maid's Pillow ; that there were several little Cakes of Feathers nicely joined together, and so strongly cemented, that the first Night they were taken out of the Pillow, he try'd to pull them asunder, but could not do it, and for a farther Account of this referred himself to

The next that was sworn, Mr. *Francis Bragge*, who began to relate that he was present the first Time of the Maid's running for Sticks, &c. but was interrupted by the



Judge, and asked whether he had any new Matter which was not already sworn to? He answered, he had something new to offer; being directed to proceed, he said, that on *Tuesday* the 19th of *February*, he (having heard that strange Cakes of Feathers were taken out of *Anne Thorn's* Pillow the Night before,) was desirous to see them; that he went into the Room where these Feathers were, and took Two of the Cakes, and compared them together. He said they were both of a Circular Figure, something larger than a Crown Piece; that he observed the small Feathers were plac'd in a Nice and Curious Order, at equal Distances from each other, making so many *Radii* of the Circle in the Center of which the Quill ends of the Feathers met. That he counted the Number of these Feathers, and found them to be 32 in each Cake. That afterwards he endeavoured to pull off Two or Three of them, and observed that they were fastned together by a sort of Viscous Matter, which would stretch Seven or Eight Inches in a fine Thread before it broke. That having taken off several of these Feathers, he removed with his Finger that Viscous Matter, and found under it, in the Center, some short Hairs, Black and Grey, matted together, which he does believe to be Cats Hair. Upon Examination of the other Cake, he found it exactly resembling the former in all its Parts. He said he did not examine any more of them, but they seem'd to be all alike, and that he saw Ten or Twelve of them. He said also that *Jane Wenham* confess'd to him that she had practis'd *Witchcraft* these Sixteen Years. I have been the larger in relating the Evidence of this Witness, because he gave in no written Information before *Str Henry Chauncy*.

My Lord said, that he wish'd he could see an Enchanted Feather; and seem'd to wonder that none of these strange Cakes were preserved; and ask'd the Witness why he did not keep One or Two of them? He answered, he would have done it, but was not permitted, they being of Opinion that the Maid might be eas'd if they were all burnt.

Then was sworn *Mr. Thomas Adams*, Junior, of *Walkerne*, whose Evidence was exactly the same with his Information above transcribed.

Then came *Matthew Gilston*, who told the Story of his running for a Penworth of Straw; adding one Circumstance, which was omitted in his above-mentioned Infor-

mation, viz. that when upon his asking for a Penyworth of Straw at *Munder's-Hill*, they refused to give him any, he saw the Old Woman in the Riding-hood again, and that she directed him to the Dung-heaps, from whence he brought Home the Straw in his Shirt; all the rest of his Evidence was the same with his Information.

Another Evidence was *John Chapman*, of *Walkerne*, who said that he had for many Years suspected the Prisoner to be a Witch; that the Reason why he did so was because he constantly found, whenever she had threatned him, that his Horses, or other of his Cattle, dy'd strangely, without any Signs of a Natural Disease, and that he believ'd he had lost above Two Hundred Pound by her in a very short Time.

Afterwards was sworn *Susan Aylott*, who deposed, that *Richard Harvey's* Wife, and also her Child, were bewitched to Death by the Prisoner, her Evidence being the same with her Information.

*Elizabeth Field* was also sworn. She said that about Nine Years ago she had a Nurse-child, and that one Day the Prisoner came and stroaked the Child, saying, it was a curious Child, or Words to that Purpose; that soon afterwards, in the Evening of the same Day, the Child was taken strangely ill, one of her Legs being so distorted, that the Toes were turned back behind the Heel; that in Two Days Time that Leg was well, and the other distorted in the same Manner as the first had been. That afterwards the Child had strange Fits, and Convulsions at Times, and pined away till she died; that she always thought the Child was Bewitched by *Jane Wenham*, the Prisoner at the Bar. Being asked why she did not Prosecute her immediately after? She answered, she was a Poor Woman, and the Child had no Friends able to bear the Charges of such a Prosecution. Being again asked whether she was grown Rich Since? She said she was still very Poor, but this Opportunity presenting itself, she laid hold of it to give her Evidence.

*William Borroughs* being Sworn, said that he had seen *Anne Thorn* in several of her Fits; that he twice brought the Prisoner to her, and that both Times she recovered immediately, and flew at her to scratch her; he said also that the Prisoner was one of a very ill Reputation, and that he, and several others of the Neighbourhood, had suspected her to be a Witch for many Years.

*Thomas Ireland* was the next Sworn, who attested that he had been all along an Eye-witness to the whole Course of the Maid's Disorder; that he had seen her recover out of her Fits at the Approach of the Prisoner; that he saw *Jane Wenham* within Three Minutes of the Time when *Anne Thorn* had said that she threatned her it should be worse with her than it had been yet: That he hearing a Noise of Cats crying and screaming about the House several Times; went out, and saw several of them, which made towards *Jane Wenham's* House; that he saw a Cat with a Face like *Jane Wenham*; that he, with *Mr. Chauncy*, was not able to force *Anne Thorn* through the Gate which was open, but she went over the other very swiftly: This I think was the Sum of his Evidence.

*James Burvile* was also Sworn, who said, That hearing the Scratchings and Noises of Cats, he went out, and saw several of them; that one of them had a Face like *Jane Wenham*; that he was present several Times when *Anne Thorn* said she saw Cats about her Bed; and more he would have attested, but this was thought sufficient by the Court.

*Uriah Wright*, and *Thomas Harvey*, being Sworn, attested the Substance of their Informations above inserted, and added, that they asked the Prisoner in what Shape the Devil used to appear to her, and she said she fancied him to be a Cat.

This is a short Account of the Evidence given at the Trial, which the Reader must perceive that I have designedly abbreviated, lest he should be cloy'd with the same Things too often repeated.

Afterwards the Prisoner saying little for herself, but that she was a Clear Woman, the Judge summed up the Evidence to the Jury in a short Speech, and left it to them, whether it was sufficient to take away the Prisoner's Life upon the Indictment: The Jury desiring some Time to consider of it, the Court adjourned till Three in the Afternoon, (it being now past One,) and then the Jury returned, and brought in their Verdict, that the Prisoner was Guilty upon the Evidence. My Lord then asked them whether they found her Guilty upon the Indictment for conversing with the Devil in the Shape of a Cat; the Foreman answered, *We find her Guilty of that*: Upon this Verdict the Prisoner receiv'd Sentence of Death, but was Reprieved till further Orders.



The Reader may observe, by this Narrative, every Circumstance, of which was over and over Sworn to in Court, that there were Three Things which fixed this Witchcraft upon the Prisoner: 1st, Her threatening *Anne Thorn* after her first running to fetch Sticks, (which was contained in *Anne Thorn's* Information upon Oath, and read in Court, she not being able to give her Evidence because of her Fits :) And 2dly, The Maid's constant Recovery out of them upon *Jane Wenham's* coming to her, and her crying out of her in all her Intervals: And 3dly, It was fix'd upon her still more strongly by her own Confession, which was at large attested by *Mr. Strutt*, and *Mr. Gardiner*, in the Court; and as for the Circumstance of the Cat there were Four Witnesses to that part of the Charge, part, I say, only of the Charge the Prosecutors laid upon *Jane Wenham*, altho' it was unaccountably made the whole of the Indictment:

But before I make any more Observations upon all these amazing Circumstances; I must here acquaint my Reader, that *Jane Wenham*, after her Condemnation, told *William Borroughs*, of *Walkerne*, who went to see her in Prison, that *Anne Thorn* should not be well yet, and threatned also another of *Walkerne*, viz. *Anne Street*, (who had been in the like Condition with *Anne Thorn* for several Days before,) that she should also be worse: This *William Borroughs* attested to me with his own Mouth, and sad Experience proved it to be too true. I shall reserve the whole Story of the Sufferings of *Anne Street* to an Appendix, and proceed to relate how the Witches Words were made good to *Anne Thorn*.

Soon after she was returned from *Hertford*, on the 5th of *March*, at Night she said she saw *Jane Wenham* at the Window, that she called to her, saying, *I will Torment you to Night*, and that Night she had a Terrible Fit, and was often sadly pinched in the Breast, and other Parts of the Body; the Marks of which remained very plain for several Days; I myself saw one of these Marks on her Breast, which was as big as a Sixpence, and turned to a Blackish Colour. The next Day she had many Fits, out of which she was recovered by Prayers. Instead of having Pins brought to her, she was now tempted to destroy herself, by a Knife convey'd to her Hands, she knew not how, with which she was told she must kill herself. They continued praying by her all that Day, yet she was ever and anon

sadly



sadly pinched, and at such Times us'd to cry out so lamentably, that it pitied all the Beholders.

There was present at one of these Fits, among many others, one that had but little Faith in Things of this Nature; but was greatly surprized, and thoroughly convinced, in the following Manner. As she was standing by the Maid's Bed, she accidentally clapp'd her Hand against the Bed's-Head, which stood close to the Wall, and immediately received Three Blows in the Palm of her Hand, which she knew could not come from behind the Hangings, (there being not the least Cavity, or Hollowness, there,) and just at this Time the Maid pointed earnestly that Way. She was very often pointing to some Part or other of the Room, crying out, *Look, look there, don't you see it?* Being asked what? Sometimes she said she saw a Dog, sometimes a Cat, and sometimes Mother *Wenham* in her proper Shape; and thus she continued grievously tormented all that Night, often crying out that she was pinched; and when she told the Company whereabouts it was that she was so pinched, they would look upon the Place, and always found a fresh Mark of a Pinch, which appear'd quite Raw, and in a Quarter of an Hour skinn'd over like a dry Burn, and sometimes the Blood would appear just ready to start out.

The next Morning she had another Fit, at which a very ingenious Gentleman, and Able Physician, happened to be present; his Curiosity bringing him a little out of his Way to enquire into the Truth of the Story of this Witch, which he had heard several Ways told, as Things of this Nature generally are. When he saw her in her Fit, (which was one of the least she ever had,) he try'd whether he could bring her out of it without Prayers; he took a great Feather, which he burning, held under the Maid's Nose; and tho' the Stink was so great that we were not able to bear it in the Room, yet the Maid received that strong Steam into her Nose without being the least affected with it, as far as we could perceive. I leave it to others to determine how far it is possible in such a Case to counterfeit, and proceed. The Doctor felt her Pulse, and examined into as many Particulars as he thought fit, in order to satisfy himself, and upon the Girl's crying out afterwards that she was pinched, he asked where? And she saying upon her Foot, we all looked, and saw a fresh Mark of a Pinch. Out of this Fit the Doctor saw the

Maid recovered by Prayer before he departed. I cannot say that the little he saw thoroughly convinced him, who is a profess'd Unbeliever of Things of this Nature ; but thus much he said, we might take his Word for, as a Physician, *That it was no Natural Disease under which the Maid laboured ; that it must be either Counterfeit, or Preternatural.* And upon this Issue we declare our selves willing to put the whole Matter before all the World.

After this the Maid continued pretty well, but on *Wednesday*, the 12th of *March*, she saw *Jane Wenham* again several times in the Afternoon, and at Night. She told her she was come to plague her, but the Maid received no farther Hurt that Night. The next Day she saw her again in the Shape of a Cat ; I asked her how she knew that Cat to be Mother *Wenham* ? She said, she knew it to be her, because the Face of the Cat was like hers, and she (the Cat) spoke to her, and told her she would torment her. An Hour or Two after this, (she says,) she saw *Jane Wenham* in her proper Shape several times, and was violently pinched, as before ; and that she had a Knife conveyed to her Hands, and afterwards into her Pocket, she knows not how, but that she was tempted to destroy herself with the Knife. She had another small Fit that Day, but is much better than she has been.

I have now done with the Story of this unhappy Maid, whom I doubt not but the Reader supposes to be a very Melancholy, Fanciful Person, and will hardly believe me when I assure him that she is quite the reverse of all this. But this is really the Case, she is of a very Lively, Brisk Temper, never was known to be easily frightened, and even this long Disorder has not so far broke her Spirits, but whenever she has a lucid Interval from her Pains, she is very Chearful and Pleasant, and pleases herself with the Hopes that e'er long she shall be well. I have upon this Occasion enquired into other Parts of her Character, and find she has a very good one. Her Mistress says she is a diligent and faithful Servant, and one that minds good Things, and loves to say her Prayers, and go to Church. She is not yet Seventeen Years old, and has seen but little of the World, having never been far from Home.

Nor can any one imagine that this Young Girl should be able to contrive and carry on a Cheat so Nicely, as to deceive not only all the Family where she lived, but the whole Neighbourhood, who were all present at some Part or

other of her Disorder? That she should chuse such an Unlucky Time for acting this part, as when her Knee was just set, rather than when she was strong and able to run, that she should be able of herself to run at the prodigious Rate she did, not less then Eight or Nine Miles per Hour, and to counterfeit even Death itself one Minute, and restore herself to Health the very next; and that she should put herself to all this Trouble for no Manner of Pleasure or Profit, is so very unconceivable, so wholly unaccountable, that I must needs say I shall never have Faith enough to believe such an Heap of Absurdities.

Then, that the Prisoner too should come into the Plot against herself, and confess that she had bewitched this Maid, and this without any Force, or Constraint, any Threatning, or other ill Usage, to bring her to this Confession, (for the Truth of which we appeal to Mr. Archer himself, her Kinsman, who was present when she confess'd to Mr. Gardiner and Mr. Strutt,) that she should name the very Time when she made a League with the Devil when there was no such Thing, and by this bring herself to a shameful Death, is another Difficulty, which my free thinking will not suffer me to swallow.

As for the Character of *Jane Wenham*, I would not foul my Paper with it, were it not industriously reported by some People that know nothing of her, only to discredit a Story, they are unwilling to believe that she is a very good Woman. If a continued Course of Idleness and Thievery, for many Years together, if the Character of a Whore, and the Practice of common Swearing and Cursing will denominate a good Woman, we are willing to allow *Jane Wenham* to be one; nay, upon Second Thoughts, we will allow it upon easier Terms, if she can find any one in the Parish that will say that he thinks her so, we will say so too: Nay, if she can persuade her own Husband to say so, we will not stand out; but the Truth of the Business is, that her nearest Relations thinks she deserves to die, and that upon other Accounts than Witchcraft. Besides the many Felonies she has been suspected to have committed, there are more than one that she has confess'd; so that if the Neighbourhood had been desirous to trouble her, they might have taken a much easier Course, and have proved her a Thief with less Difficulty than they have convicted her a Witch. In short, there is this difference between the Characters of *Anne Thorn* and *Jane Wenham*, that the former had no Body's ill Word, and the latter no Body's good one; and it was observable, that at the Tryal not one Person, no, not any of her own Children so much as appear'd to speak to her Reputation.

Now let the Reader reflect upon the whole Evidence, let him put all these Things together, and we doubt not but he will be satisfied with our Proceedings: We had born with this Woman for many Years after she had been suspected by her Witchcrafts to have caused the Death of Three Persons, a Woman and Two Children; we had born with her Thefts and ill Tongue with a great deal of Patience, but when Mr. Gardiner saw so many strange Things in his own House, and so much Reason to think they were occasioned by this Woman's Wickedness; he would have been wanting in his Duty to his Neigh-

hours, as well as his Care for those immediately under his Eye, if he had not endeavoured in a Legal Manner to bring these hidden Works of Darkness to Light, and a Publick Examination in the Face of the Country.

There are those who make a mighty Jest, of the Maid's Recovery out of her Fits by Prayer; but to us this is a great Argument, that these Fits were immediately inflicted by Evil Spirits, who are driven away by the Holy Force of Prayer, which our Saviour has so often prescribed as the best Remedy against the Power and Malice of the Devil, and extends even to the casting him out of those Poor Creatures he had possessed. This Kind, saith our Saviour, speaking of casting out Devils, *goeth not out but by Fasting and Prayer*: And to what should we have Recourse in such Extremities as these, but to the Almighty Power of God, who, and who only, is able to protect us against the Malice of the Devil? Such Holy Charms or Amulets against Satan, as Prayers are somewhere stiled by St. Austin, we are not at all ashamed to own, let the World call 'em *Exorcisms*, or by what other Invidious Names they shall think fit.

However, for the Satisfaction of the Reader we shall acquaint him what these Exorcisms and Conjurations were, which had so good Influence where all other Means were ineffectual.

They were first the *Lord's-Prayer*, then the Collect in the Office for the Visitation of the Sick, which begins, *O Lord, look down from Heaven, &c.* The Prayer at the End of the same Office, (with some few Variations,) for Persons troubled in Mind, that in the Litany, *We humbly beseech thee, O Father, &c.* and that at the End, *O God, Merciful Father, that despisest not the Sighing of a Contrite Heart, &c.* and sometimes that Benediction in the Office abovemention'd, *The Almighty Lord, who is a strong Tower, &c.* Sometimes we used the Collects appointed by the Church, for the 4th Sunday after Epiphany, the 2d Sunday in Lent, and the 18th Sunday after Trinity. These were the Conjurations and Charms that were used, and no other; and Blessed be God they were justified by the good Effects that followed.

It may be here objected, that since the Power of Almighty God is Infinite, and his Ear always open to Pious Prayers; how came it to pass, that in one of the worst Fits this Maid had, Prayers were found to be ineffectual? I answer, that if we may presume to look into the Secrets of God's Providences so far, the Reason seems to be this, her not recovering till the *Witch* came in might serve as a Means the more fully to convict that Wretched Woman, and by that Means bring her to the Punishment so justly due to her Demerits; and indeed upon the Maid's starting up when *Jane Wenham* approached her, tho' she but just before had seemed to all that were present to be really dead; the whole Company was fully satisfied that she was indeed cast into that Deplorable Condition by the Practices of this Wicked Woman.

That the *Cakes of Feathers* found in the Maid's Pillow were really some Devilish Enchantment, is I think very probable, because otherwise no Account can possibly be given how they should come there,  
and



and it is really strange that the Feathers should be so closely knit together, and rank'd in such an exact Mathematical Order. How this should come by Chance is as inconceivable to me, as that the 24 letters should by meer Accident fall into One of the Verses of *Virgil* or *Horace*. The Viscous Matter with which these Feathers were lined puts me in Mind of that Ointment made of Dead Mens Flesh, which Mr. *Glanvil*, and others, mention as often used by Witches. I cannot expect that this Narrative will meet with any Credit among those who are resolved against all Testimony, that of the Holy scriptures not excepted, never to believe that there are any such Persons as Witches, but I hope it will fully satisfy all others, that in this Prosecution nothing was done but upon good Grounds; and having now fairly represented our Doings to the World, we submit ourselves to the Reader's Impartial Judgment, and rest fully satisfied in having discharged our Duties. And thus,

*Liberavimus animas Nostras.*

# A P P E N D I X.

*Containing an Account of the Sufferings of Anne Street, by the Witchcrafts of Jane Wenham.*

HAVING promis'd to give the Reader a particular Account of *Anne Street's* Disorder, I come now to perform it; I must premise, that this *Anne Street* was a very brisk healthful Maid before she had these Fits, which do not in the least resemble Fits of the Mother, or any Natural Disease: I had this Account from her own Mouth, and altho' it has not been yet Sworn before any Magistrate, yet the whole Neighbourhood know it to be true.

On Sunday, the 17th of February, *Anne Street* was taken Speechless, and afterwards fell into Convulsions, and was so strong that Three or Four Men could not hold her; her Mind ran strangely upon *Jane Wenham*, and she was strongly tempted to run out of the House, but whither, or to what Purpose, she could not tell; however, she was prevented by those about her, who kept her within, lest she should do herself any Harm; and upon their going to Prayers she recovered, and was pretty well that Night.

The next Day she was tempted to destroy herself, but was so narrowly watched that she could find no Opportunity, altho' she once attempted to choak herself with the Sheets of the Bed: The Day after she got out of the House, and ran into a Pond to drown herself, and was hardly saved by Three Men, who had much ado to pull her out of the Water; being asked what moved her to do this? She said she knew not, but she must kill herself; soon after this she had a Fit, and upon her Recovery out of it by Prayer, she said that she

saw

( 30 )

saw a Car, which had a Face like *Jane Wenham*, that this Car spoke to her, and told her, she must kill herself, bidding her not to regard what her Friends said to her, but kill herself, or else she should never be well : She has several Times since seen this Car, who always speaks to her ; she had many of these Fits, which exactly resembled those of *Anne Thorn*.

When the Maid was in her Fits there were strange Noises heard about the House, sometimes a Sound like that of Two Men Threshing, another Time there was great Knockings against the Table and the Walls of the House, which were heard very distinctly by all that were present ; the Bed-Cloaths and Bed were seen to be lifted up from the Bed-stead when no Body touched them.

Afterwards *Anne Street* saw *Jane Wenham* in her own Shape, she spoke to her, and bid her come out, which she would have done if she could have found any Opportunity : Soon after this she fell into another Fit, and was grievously pinched, so that in many Places of her Body the Blood was ready to start out ; when she could speak she cryed out that she saw Mother *Wenham* again, who said she would Torment her : In another of these Fits she said that she had a Knife convey'd to her, with which she was directed to stab herself, that afterwards it was gone again, she knew not how.

She continues in this sad Condition, and has often Fits, and her Body is full of Marks of Pinches she has received ; she sees Mother *Wenham* always before a Fit.

The Reason why this *Anne Street* did not appear in Court, was, because her Friends (being Poor, and hoping that the Witch would be Convicted upon the other Evidence,) were unwilling to be at the Charge of coming to the Assizes : And for the Truth of all this, I appeal to the whole Town of *Walkerne*, who saw and heard these strange Things.

I shall now insert a Certificate from Mr. *Green* the Surgeon, who Set *Anne Thorn's* Knee, that the World may be satisfied that her Bone was really out of Joint.

*Moss-Bury, March 15th, 1711-12.*

These are to Certifie whom it may concern, that on Monday the 11th of February, *Anne Thorn*, Servant to the Reverend Mr. *Gardiner*, Minister of *Walkerne*, came to me, having her Knee out of Joint, and I did set it ; she came also on the 13th of the same Month, her Bone being out again, and I did then also set it ; and that *Anne Thorn* was very Lame, not able to walk, much less to run out into the Fields.

Witness my Hand,

*William Green.*

F I N I S.

THE  
IMPOSSIBILITY  
OF  
WITCHCRAFT,

Plainly proving,

From **Scripture** and **Reason**,  
That there never was a WITCH;  
and that it is both Irrational and Im-  
pious to believe there ever was.

In which the

DEPOSITIONS  
AGAINST

**Jane Wenham,**

Lately Try'd and Condemn'd for a  
WITCH, at *Hertford*, are Confuted  
and Expos'd.

---

*Somnia, Terrores Magicos, Miracula, Sagas,  
Nocturnas Lemures, Portentaq; Theſſala rides. Hor.  
Deme Veneficiis, Carminibusq; fidem. Ovid.*

---

LONDON Printed, and Sold by J. Baker,  
at the Black-Boy in Pater-Noster-Row, 1712.

Price Six Pence.

# THE GOSPEL

OF THE  
KINGDOM OF GOD  
BY  
JESUS CHRIST  
THE SON OF GOD  
AND  
THE SON OF MAN

THE  
GOSPEL  
OF  
MATTHEW

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# THE PREFACE.

**U**PON the repeated Solicitations of many Letters from my Correspondents, who have approv'd of the following Papers, and been urgent for Publishing them together in one Pamphlet for the General Good, they make their Appearance after this Manner. But because some have been pleas'd to observe, That it is a very odd Thing that our Laws Impower Judges to put People to Death for *Witchcraft*, if there is no such Thing as a *Witch* in the World; and others affirm, That the Records of Justice are full of Instances, in all Ages, of the Truth of *Witchcraft*, which, in their Opinion, amounts to a Demonstration. I shall, for the Satisfaction of the First, have Recourse to such Laws as have been Enacted here in England concerning it, as also those that have been made in Foreign Countries; and to quiet the Minds of the last, shew them how far off their Surmises are from any Thing that bears the Face of Reality.

To begin with the First, It is said that the 33d of Henry VIII. was the first Statute against *Witchcraft*, one Clause of which is, Or for the  
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Despight of Christ, or Lucre of Money to pull down any Cross; and is there made Felony, which shews, that this Statute was partly made upon Account of the Religion which then prevail'd, and that this Crime was as Capital as to consume any Person in his Body, Members, or Goods; so superstitious was this Nation in those Days; but this Statute was afterwards repeal'd in several Reigns, viz. Ed. 6. Cap. 12. 1 Mar. Cap. 1. which perhaps those Two Parliaments never would have done, without making another against Witches, if they had believ'd there were any such Creatures; this Repealing being a Kind of Legal Toleration for Witches, there being no Common Law whereby to punish them. But what Reason the Parliament had to make this first Statute against Witches, or what Inducement the next Two Reigns had to repeal it, or what Motives the succeeding Reigns to make more severe Laws against them, may be worth Enquiry, considering that Witchcraft has always been the same in all Ages.

We are likewise inform'd, That the first Persons who were condemn'd for Witches, suffer'd in the Year 1200, when Frederick the Second made a Law for Burning of Hereticks; and that the Inquisitors having judg'd the Crime of Witchcraft to be Heresy, and that to be a Witch was the same Thing to the Pope, as to be a Traytor to a Temporal Prince; they did in Rome, Spain, &c. condemn, by that Law, suppos'd Witches as Hereticks, because Witches had renounc'd their Baptismal Vow, and ador'd Satan: And this they did to Establish the usurp'd Dominion of the Pope, and for their own Profit, they having a Share

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*Share in the Goods and Estates of such Persons so condemn'd: And probably this Law, and the Example of the Inquisitions have been the chief Grounds that other Countries, in particular, England, did afterwards make Laws of the same Tendency, and punish'd Witches in like Manner, ever since; till the Statute of De Heretico comburendo was repealed. For, according to Coke's Institute 3d, Part 44, 46, it seems as if before this Statute of Henry VIII. Witches were always Try'd by Ecclesiastical Laws and Judges, and condemn'd as Hereticks or Apostates, and that the Cognizance of Persons under these Circumstances, was by this Statute transform'd from an Ecclesiastical to a Temporal Judicature, as they were Killing Witches, not as Hereticks and Apostates.*

*In Answer to the Second Proposition I shall take the Liberty to declare, that the Records mention'd therein cannot amount to a Demonstration. For if, even Glanvil himself Speaks true, who says, Fol. 103, That we are Ignorant of the Extents and Bounds of Nature's Sphere, and Possibilities, it will follow that We are uncertain whether those Facts for which Witches, have been condemn'd were really done by Witchcraft, or produc'd by the Course of Nature: And can this Uncertainty amount to a Demonstration? 2. Judges, for Interest's sake, have suffer'd themselves to be impos'd upon by False Witnesses, and so condemn'd Innocent Persons for Things they were never Guilty of: And can the Records of those Condemnations amount to a Demonstration? 3. Judges have condemn'd Innocent Persons for Facts that were*  
*Impossible*

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*Impossible to be done : And can the Records of these Facts amount to a Demonstration ? 4. Judges have condemn'd many Innocent Persons upon the Testimony of Pretended Witchfinders, who being Authoriz'd and Encourag'd by great Persons (even of the Ministry) were sent abroad into Scotland, and Northumberland, who made Affidavit that, upon Search, they had found suppos'd Witchmarks, by putting Sharp Pins and Needles into Warts, and Excrescenscies of divers Persons who did not at all Complain, and can the Records of these Matters amount to a Demonstration ? 5. The Judges themselves are not Infallible, and may, perhaps, have Erroneous Notions of these Dark and Abstruse Matters, and condemn Witches wrongfully, as it is said, a Bishop of Mentz was Excommunicated for holding that there were Antipodes, by some Hundreds of Men that were accounted Learned and Wise, and do these Records of Witchcraft any more amount to a Demonstration, than this Excommunication did of there being no such Creatures as Antipodes ? Those Bishops, probably, were as Knowing and Prudent, as the Inquisitors or our own Judges ; and the Demonstrations of the Antipodes is far more Obvious and Intelligible than those impossible Instances of Witchcraft, for which 2000 poor Souls have been Innocently Condemn'd : Which Considerations may caution our Juries not to be so hasty in declaring People Guilty of a Crime, that is a meer Ens Rationis, which has its Residence only in Weak and Cowardly Understandings and Tempers.*

*I should here, according to the Desire of some Persons, enter into the Merits of the several Depositions that are inserted at large in the Full and*



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and Impartial Account, which are Sixteen in Number, but out of Respect to the Sacred Habit which Two of them Wear, and the Incapacities of the other Fourteen, dismiss them to their Respective Bedchambers, with no farther Remarks than, that the Inconsistencies which they are Guilty of, shew they very much stand in need of Rest, since a Crazie Body very often Indisposes the Soul, and Influences the Mind to entertain Strange and Preternatural Ideas of Things that have no Manner of Existence.

But I must not Suffer my Reader to go uniform'd about the large Additions that have been made to the Discourse he is now entring upon the Perusal of, and am to promise that he has it now entirely, as it was at first Design'd, tho' purposely omitted in the Protestant Post-Boy for fear of giving him a Surfeit through too great a Satiety from one Subject.

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T H E

that I might not suffer my business to be neglected, and the large amount of business that has been made in the district is now cutting upon the district, and we are now in a position that we are now entirely in a position to give the property contained in the district a great deal of business from one

T H E  
 Impossibility  
 O F  
 Witchcraft.

**T**HE Discourse of the Town having been very much taken up, for some Days past, with a Trifling Pamphlet, in Vindication of the Tryal of one *Jane Wenham*, a Reputed Witch, whom that Enemy to Superstition, the very Worshipful Sir *Henry Chauncy*, gravely Committed, without *Laughing*, to *Heriford* Goal; where she was Try'd and found Guilty (against the Judge's Will) of *Conversing with the Devil in the shape of a Cat, making a Maid that could not Walk without Leading, leap over a Five-Bar Gate, and run as swift as a Grey-hound*, with several other Incredibles; it may not be improper to disabuse the People, who too easily give into the Belief of

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such Stories, and receive Impressions from them not so easily to be defaced. *Cicero*, in *Lib. 2. de Divin.* says, *Nam ut vere loquamur, Superstitio fusa per Orbem oppressit omnium fere animos atq; Hominum occupavit Imbecillitatem.* For to speak the Truth, Superstition having over-run the World, hath dastared almost every ones Spirits, taking its Advantage from the Frailty of Man. And strange it is to consider, how far the Folly of Mankind hath proceeded in their Credulity concerning the Actions both of Male and Female Witches: As if, forsooth, they could Transform Men and Women into Beasts; as if they could Destroy the Fruits of the Earth, and the Fruits of the Womb, at their Pleasure; as if they could raise Winds and Tempests, or alay them, enable or disable, in Matters Venerial; in a Word, as if they could enslave Nature herself, and make the Universe Obey their Commands. Examples, indeed, of this Prodigious Power, are scatter'd up and down the Roman Poets, such as *Virgil*, *Horace*, *Ovid*, *Tibullus*, *Propertius*, *Lucan*, &c. But that it has any Foundation in Holy Scripture, or takes its Rise otherwise than from Heathenish Fables, afterwards improv'd by Papal Impostors, must always, by me, be deny'd.

'Tis true, our Translators of the Bible, in the Eighteenth Chapter of *Deuteronomy*, call a *Conjecturer* an *Enchanter*, which why they should, I cannot at all imagine, there being



being not the least Hint of such a Signification in the *Hebrew* Word *Mankesb*, which is far better render'd in the old Translation, a *Regarder of the Flying of Fowls*; for that is Truth, tho' it be not all the Truth, the Flight of Fowls being but One way of Many, which Conjecturers made use of. A Second Mistake of our Translators, in the same Chapter, is, their calling a *Miracle-monger* a *Witch*: The *Hebrew* Word is *Mickshaph*, which the *Septuagint* renders by the Greek word *ᾠδισμῶς*, meaning an *Impostor*, not a *Poisoner*. For it is Ridiculous to think, that *Pharaoh's* Magicians, *Jezabel* the Queen, and *King Manasses* did exercise the Art of Poisoning. Thus in the Eighteenth Chapter of the *Revelations*, and the Twenty third Verse, the Word *ᾠδισμῶν* is neither taken for *Witchcraft*, or *Poisons*, but for *Impostures*, tho' our Translations have render'd it *Witchcraft*.

Now these *Miracle-mongers* or *Jugling* workers of Counterfeit Miracles are therefore so severely prohibited in the Law of *Moses*, because they acted strange things in the sight of the People to confirm them in false Religions. Hence it is that in the *Old Testament*, where mention is made of *Idolatry*, you shall frequently meet with *Miracle-mongers* and *Southsayers* coupled together. For the Priests of an Idol would commonly advance its Reputation by countefeiting the Gifts of Propheying and Working Miracles,

pretendedly receiv'd from that God to whose Honour the Idol was Erected. Nor let any one think that for the Performance of these *Counterfeit Meracles*, they stood in need of the Devils Assistance; for what they perform'd, either exceeded not the Compass of Human Art, altho' miraculous in the Eyes of the Vulgar: Or if it did, then it was not really perform'd, but a mere *Juggling Imposture*. Such kind of *Juglers* were those who stood before *Pharaoh*, in opposition to *Moses* and *Aaron*: For whosoever believes that *Pharaoh's* Magicians could, by the help of the Devil, turn, in an instant, a Stick into a Serpent, ascribes to the Devil an Omnipotent Creating Power, equal unto his, who did but say, *Let such a thing be*, and it was so. *St. Augustine*, I confess, does seem to endeavour at the Evading this Objection, by laying down a Maxim, *That in the Elements the Seeds of all bodies secretly lie hid, which, upon meeting with Convenient Opportunities, do put forth themselves and arise to the just Bounds and Figures due to their respective Species*. From hence he Infers, That the Devil, in turning Magicians Rods into Serpents, did not Create those Serpents, because he produc'd them out of their Seeds. But by *St. Augustine's* good Leave, tho' I should grant him, that the Seed of a Serpent is in a Stick, yet I can never allow the Magicians to be able so suddenly to bring forth this Seed into Act, for the Production of a Serpent. 'Tis true, That Men, by their  
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well ordering the Seeds of Plants, may hasten the Generation of such Plants, and the ripening of their Fruits: They may also by putting Eggs into Camels Dung, procure the Generation of Chickens. Wherefore 'tis probable that Devils, being more skillful than Men, may strangely promote the Generation of several Creatures beyond any humane Art: But yet neither Men, nor Devils, in regard they act these Things by the Application of Matter to Matter, can produce any creature out of its Seed, without a considerable space of Time. No, they must attend the Laws of *Matter*, and wait upon Dame Nature's Leisure: there being many successive Alterations required in Seed, before it can come to the Embryo of a Creature, and many also must afterwards follow, before the Embryo can Arrive to a perfect shape.

The Third Error of our Translators is, their mistaking a Consuler with Oracles or False Prophets, for a Consuler with Familiar Spirits. The *Hebrew* Words are **אֵלֹהִים**, which Word *Ob* signifies in Scripture, sometimes the Gift of Oracling, and sometimes the Person that hath such a Gift. It signifies also a Bottle or hollow Vessel, and from this signification, I suppose the other came. For it is certain that *Oracles* did use to counterfeit strange kind of Voices, that they might seem not to be humane. To this purpose, 'tis not unlikely that they made use of a Bottle,

Bottle, or Trunk, or some other hollow Vessel, which they spoke through, whereby their Voices must needs be very much altered, especially if they were in a Cave or Room under Ground, when they made Answer to Enquiries. These kind of Cheating Tricks are plainly alluded to by the Prophet *Isaiah* in these Words; *And thy Voice shall be as an Oracle out of the Earth, and thy Speech shall piep out of the Dust.* Here I suppose the Prophet chiefly hints at the *Necromantick Oracle*, or one that pretended to Consult with the Dead: Who by Himself, or his Confederate, did counterfeit a Voice like the *pieping* of a Chicken, that it might the more plausibly seem to be the small Voice of a poor departed Ghost.

I could produce many other Instances of the like nature, which the Translation of the Bible by *Junius* and *Tremellius*, gives us a Light into; but shall Content my self, with bringing some Arguments to prove in the first Place, That *this Strange Notion of Witchcraft, has its Foundation in Heathen Fables.* Secondly, I shall take upon me to affirm, That it has been improv'd by Papal Inquisitious for the sake of Private Interest. Thirdly, I shall prove, That there is no such Thing, as a *Witch* in Scripture. Fourthly, I shall endeavour to make appear, There is no such thing as a *Witch* at all; and produce several Arguments against the Affirmers of *Witchcraft.* Fifthly, I shall answer other Arguments



ments to the contrary. *Sixthly* and *Lastly*, I shall shew by what means this Opinion of *Witchcraft* came into the World.

To begin with my *first Particular*. Such was the vain Credulity of Men in the Heathen Ages; that they did not only believe those Things were real, which the Priests counterfeited; but they also ascribed unto private Persons, a Power equal to that of the Priests, or rather beyond it. For not only Men, but Women, especially Old Women have been famous for Propheysing of Things to come, whence they were call'd *Sage*; as also for Wonderful and Miraculous Exploits, whence they took the Name of *Lamia* or *Venefica*. They were call'd *Lamia* chiefly from their Adventures among little Children. For it seems, according to the Fable, there was one *Lamia* a Beautiful Woman in *Lybia*, whom *Jupiter* fell in Love with; but *Juno*, out of Jealousy, took her Children which she had by *Jupiter* and killed them; wherefore she out of mere Grief for the Death of her own Children, made it her Practice to kill those of other Women. They were styl'd *Venefica*, because they were wont to make use of Herbs, which they suppos'd had strange kind of Vertues in them, for with Herbs or Charms they always acted.

*Num te Carminibus, num te pallentibus Herbis  
Devotus tacito tempore noctis Annus?*

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As for the Opinions concerning *Incubi* and *Succubi* Devils, It's manifest, they had their Rise from the Fables of the Antient Hero's, who (as *Socrates* in *Plato's Cratylus* affirms) were begotten from the Conjunction of Deities with Human Creatures; which kind of Conjunction, whosoever believe, makes that Belief of his, a Cloak for the Adulteries of the Heathen Priests, who often lay with other Mens Wives, pretending that the Gods had vouchsafed them the Honour of their Company. Very Remarkable to this Purpose, is the Story of *Tyrannus* a Priest of *Saturn*, who under this Pretence had carnal Knowledge of many a Man's Wife, till at last one more Wife than the Rest, discover'd the Cheat. In like manner *Mundus* a Gentleman of *Rome*, by the help of the Priests belonging to the Temple of *Isis*, enjoy'd his Pleasure on *Paulina* a *Roman* Lady, who mistook him for the God *Anubis*.

Now one wou'd think that these Heathenish Fables and Follies, *to come to my second Particular*, altho' they took Root in the Minds of the Christian Vulgar, should never have been Assented to by those who account themselves Rabbies and Doctors of the People; yet there is nothing of this Nature that was Credited by those Barbarous Ages, that hath not been declar'd True by the Inquisition and by the Canon Law. Wherefore it may not be amiss, to enquire into those Inquisitors. The first Time that I can hear News of them

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in History is in the Days of *Maximus* who contended with *Theodosius* for the Empire: Though I confess an Inquisition was then but Intended, not brought to Effect. This *Maximus*, was the first who put Hereticks to Death, namely *Priscilian* and his Partners, by the Perswasion of one *Ithacius*, and if it had not been for St. *Martin*, he would have sent Tribunes into *Spain*, with Power to search for Hereticks, and to take away their Lives and Goods. In process of time, *Charlemain*, who was Crowned Emperor in the Eighth Hundred Year after Christ, did by his Laws or Capitulars, declare the Bishop of *Rome* to be Head of the Church. Nevertheless all those Capitulars, which concern'd the Roman Supremacy, were extracted from forg'd Authorities, that Cheat being put upon them by the Bishops of *Mentz*. About Three Hundred years after, in the year One Thousand one Hundred Twenty two, the Emperor *Henry* the Fifth was forced to resign his Power of Electing and Investing Bishops with the Staff and Ring into the Hands of the Church; of which the Roman Pontiff being declar'd Head, by this Means obtain'd a greater Empire and Power, than ever the Roman *Cæsars* had. This being perceiv'd by the German Emperors, there was almost a perpetual War between them and the Bishops of *Rome*: But especially *Frederick* the Second, who flourish'd in the beginning of the 13th Century, and spent most of his Reign in endeavouring to take down the Church from overtopping the Empire;

pire. Nevertheless, it was in his Reign that the *Roman* Bishops made notable Provision for the Security of their Exorbitant Power; Then it was that *Frederick* the Second, when he was at *Padua*, made those unhappy Laws, whereby Hereticks were liable to the Punishment of Death; of which Laws the Popes made very great Advantage. Then it was that *Gregory* the Ninth advanced the Authority of Canon or Pontifical Laws, by Composing the Decretals by the help of his Chaplain *Raymund*: Then it was, that the Orders of the *Dominican* and *Franciscan* Fryars were founded, to whom was committed the Inquisition after Hereticks.

These Monks at their first setting up for Inquisitors, as Father *Paul* has observed in the History of the Inquisition, had no Tribunal or Courts of their own, but did only Preach, and stir up Princes and People, engaging them into *Crusadoes* against Hereticks, by sewing a piece of Red Cloth in the form of a Cross upon their Garments. But *Innocent* the Fourth, who begun his Pontificate about the latter end of *Frederick* the Second, observing the furious Zeal of the Fryars, thought good to Erect a Tribunal for them, that so they themselves might proceed to the Tryal of Hereticks. To bring this about he had a fair opportunity upon the Death of *Frederick*, by reason of the vacancy that then happen'd in the Empire for many years: For now having no Emperor to controul Him in *Italy*, He took the Confidence to impose the Inquisition upon  
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the several Provinces of it. There are Extant several Bulls, written by *Innocent* the Fourth to the Magistrates of those Countries: One of which sets down the forementioned Laws of *Frederick* against Hereticks Word for Word, and commands them to be strictly observed. Nor can I blame him for holding his Ecclesiastical Empire upon no other Title than the Pretence of Religion. To be a Heretick must needs be the same thing to Him and his Successors, as to be a Traytor to Temporal Princes. Hence it came to pass, that, when the Inquisition had gotten Foot in many Kingdoms and Countries, an incredible Number of People were frequently Tormented and Burn'd for the Crime of *Witchcraft*, which they had so twisted and blended with Heresie, or the Denyal of Pontifical Authority, that in seeking out *Witches*, in Tormenting and putting them to Death, they did at once gratify, as well the Ambition and usurp'd Power of their Lord the Pope, as their own insatiable Covetousness and Thirst after other Mens Goods. In the year 1518. the Inquisitors put to Death abundance of Inchanters, which they had found in the *Venitian* Territories, where such was the Extortion and Avarice of their Proceedings, that the Country rose up against them, and the Council afterwards was fain to send for these Inquisitors, and enquire into their Proceedings, to pacify the enrag'd Populace. The Inquisition was likewise settled in *Lorrain* much about the same Time, where according to the Confession of *Nicholaus Remigius*, who ad-

judg'd them to Death, in Sixteen years time, there were 800 *Witches* Executed. In a Word, after the Founding of the *Dominican* and *Franciscan* Fryars, and the setting up an Office of Inquisition, the World grew so full of *Devils* and *Witches*, that I am apt to give in to the Judgment of *Cardan*, who handling this Business of *Witches* and *Witch-finders*, observ'd it to be full of Covetousness and Folly, as any one may redd in his Book *de Varietate Rerum*.

By this Time methinks it plainly appears out of the preceding Discourse, that the Notion of a *Witch*, as it is taken now a-days, has no Foundation at all in Scripture; but had its original or first Rise out of Heathenish Fables, and was afterwards improv'd by Papal Impostures: Nevertheless, to make good my Promise, I shall produce some Arguments to prove, 3dly, That a *Witch* is not to be found in Scripture. And 4thly, That there is no such Thing as a *Witch* at all.

The first Argument shall be taken from the Difference between our Vulgarly reputed *Witches* and those which our Translators of the Bible call so. For whom, I pray, do our Translators call *Witches*, but the Kings and Queens, and Princes of the Earth, as also the Priests and Philosophers, and Wise Men of this World? Whereas the *Witches*, now-a-days, are poor, silly, contemptible People; for instead of such as King *Manasses*, and Queen *Jezabel*, we now hear talk of this old *Gammer*, and this old *Goodwife*. It seems the Kingdom of *Darkness* is quite alter'n in its Politicks, and the Devil is not so Wise as  
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Some Men make him, if the Opinion of *Witchcraft* holds good.

The second Argument shall be taken from the *Sadduces*, a famous Sect among the *Jews*, who deny'd Spirits, and the Resurrection of the dead; yet had the Five Books of *Moses* in high Esteem and Regard; wherefore either they did not understand *Hebrew*, or if they did, the Notion of *Witchcraft* did not appear in *Moses*. And if this be once granted, I suppose the other Parts of the Bible will easily follow. But, perhaps, you'll Object, and say, That the *Sadduces* were a Sect after the Captivity, which kept the *Jews* so long in *Babylon*, that they forgot their own Tongue, and that the *Jews*, after their Return into *Judea*, spoke not the *Hebrew*, but the Vulgar *Syrian*. To this I Answer, That when the Sect of the *Sadduces* took its Beginning, is uncertain, and that however the Common People did forget the old *Hebrew*, yet the Priests did always preserve its knowledge. Now that Priests themselves were *Sadduces*, is Manifest, for even the High-Priest *Joseph Hircanus*, was one of that Sect, according to the Testimony of *Josephus*.

The third, and last Argument, shall be taken from the Different Practices, ascrib'd unto our Vulgarly Suppos'd *Witches*, and unto those in our own Translation of the Bible. For our Modern *Witches* practice a secret Occult Art, and it requires great Skill to discover them by several strange Signs and horrid Tortures. But those whom our Translators call *Witches*, in the Bible, were such

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as practised what they did Openly, and in the Face of the World, making Publick Profession of their Art, which was the Counterfeit Art of *Propheſying*, and *Working Miracles*. But, alas! had it been this Myſterious Art of *Contracting with the Devil*, and of *uſing his Power*, the Profeſſors whereof are ſo Clandefſtine in their Ways, that they can hardly be diſcover'd by various Scrutinies and Enquiries; how impoſſible a Thing had it been for *Saul* to turn them all out of *Iſrael*, as we read he did, 1 *Sam.* 28. This I am ſure of, a Proclamation now-a-days ſet out to that Purpoſe, would avail nothing, and only ſerve to move the Laughter of all thoſe that ſtood by to hear it.

If there be no ſuch Thing as a *Witch* in Scripture, as I have Vanity enough to think I have prov'd in my laſt, I ſhall make uſe of that, as my firſt Argument, to prove *there is no ſuch Thing as a Witch at all*; which was my ſecond Propoſal. Nor let any one, thereupon, that abounds with Words, and his own Senſe, cry out, then there is no ſuch River as the *Thames*, there is no ſuch Country as *America*, if ſilence in Scripture ſerves for an Argument. A Man may make ſuch Inſtances from Morning to Night, and a great Noiſe to no Purpoſe; as if there were no Difference between thoſe Things that lie quite beſides the Scriptures Notice, and thoſe Things which, if they be True, the Scriptures could not be ſilent about, without the Charge of Imperfection. For let any one but read the Law of *Moses*, and then ſeriously conſider, why it ſhould be ſo  
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severe against Incestuous and Beastial Concubinage, and yet not so much as mention Diabolical. The *Jews* were forbid to meddle with Strange Women of other Nations and should there be no Caution given against their meddling with strange Creatures, as it were of another World? Observe how curious the Law is in matters of Uncleaness, and shall an ordinary Running Issue be so much Talk'd of, and no Mention made of Teats running with Blood, and suck'd by Devils? *Lastly*, That Law which by its Years of Jubilee, and several other Constitutions, provided more against Oppression and Cruelty than any other Law in the World; that Law which so detested the Murther of Men, that it made them Merciful to their Neighbours Beasts; I say, that Law could never pass over in Silence, the Cruel and Abominable Actions of *Witches*, against both Man and Beast. Without question it would have inflicted upon them the severest Punishments, and for the Discovery of their Secret and Devilish Contracts, it would have laid down sufficient Rules for Trial; especially since, in a far less Matter, that of *Adultery*, it made use of that horrible and amazing Tryal, by the *Bitter Water*, which caused the Curse.

*Secondly*, I Argue from the miserable Poverty of our Vulgarly reputed *Witches*, (such as is the Woman that gives Being to these Reflections) that they are wrongfully accus'd. For I am not willing to believe, that they have such a Power with the Devil, as to make him do wonderful Things at their Com.

Command, when they never command him to fetch them Money, and to furnish them with Bread. Indeed, in the Night Time he carries them I know not whither, and there they meet with great variety of imaginary Mirth and Feasting. Now such as their Feast is, such is their *Witchcraft*, not real; but imaginary, as only existing in the wild Fancies of Men.

In the *Third Place*, I charge those who obstinately maintain *there are Witches*, either with *Irrationality* or *Impiety*: For 'tis irrational to think, that the Devils are Creatures full of Malice, and breathing nothing but Mischief against the whole Race of Man, and that they suffer a Man to live, when they can so easily kill us at the Command of a *Witch*. But if you evade this, by saying, *That Devils cannot hurt us without the Divine Permission*; Then, I say, 'tis Impious to concern the Great God with *Witchcraft*. 'Tis true indeed, he may send Death and Diseases amongst the Sons of Men, to punish them for their Sins at his own pleasure; but that he should do so at the desire of the Devil, at the command of a *Witch*, is such a Gratification of Malice, as is far from God to perform. *Calvin*, in his Sermons on the two first Chapters of *Job*, takes a great deal of pains to explode this Opinion of *God's Permission*, and shews, by several Examples of *Absolon*, *Abab*, and *Nebuchadnezzar*, that God doth not barely permit, but orders and determines the Actions of Devils and Wicked Men; affirming, *That if Asses could speak,*  
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they would speak *Wiser* than those Men who talk of God's Permission after this Rate: Nor will he grant, that God afflicted *Job* upon Satan's Request; but because he himself had so determin'd to try *Job's* Patience.

Lastly, The Vanity and Falseness of their Opinion who believe there are *Witches*, appears from nothing more than from this, That it ascribes unto the Devil an Omnipotent Power: Inasmuch, that no Rational Man, by the Light of Reason, shall be able to tell, from the History of the Gospel, whether our Saviour himself were a *Witch* or no; for let some Men think what they please, the Holiness of his Doctrine is not by the Thousandth Part such a Proof of Acting by a Divine Power, as the Miraculousness of his Works. But, alas! What were his Miracles, or how were they valued, if Malicious Creatures, without a Divine Commission enabling them thereto, can make Frogs and Serpents, raise the Dead, give Law to the Winds and Seas, to mention no more of those prodigious Works ascribed unto the Devils upon the Account of *Witchcraft*? For my part, I am apt to think, that those who believe after this manner, approach very near to the Opinion of the *Persians*, who held there were Two Great Beings, both Almighty, both at mutual and perpetual War; one the Author of all Good, the other of all Evil. The Good Principle they called *Oromasdes*, and the Evil one, *Arimanias*. Of the same Opinion were the *Egyptians*, as appears by *Osiris* and *Typhon*, and from them *Pythagoras* carry'd it

to Greece. In a Word, the whole Heathen World seem to be infected with this Conceit, believing Internal as well as Supernal Gods; and therefore they had Sacrifices as well to appease the Anger, and to avert the Mischiefs of the one, as to propitiate, and procure the Blessings of the other. Nor can those Christians be excus'd from the same Infection, who, upon the Account of *Witchcraft*, attribute Omnipotency to the Devil; for what less do they believe, concerning the Prince of the Devil and his Power, if according to them, he can command the Influence of the Sun, and Govern the Motion of the Stars: If he can open the Bowels of the Earth, and cause the Vapours to ascend in Clouds into the Middle Region of the Air, and thence, again, descend upon the Earth, in Thunder and Lightening and violent Storms; If he can Transform Men and Women into Cats, and if he can Create Frogs and Serpents. Wherefore I conclude, it was a very seasonable Decree made by the Council of *Ancyra*, more Antient than the *Nicene* Council, wherein they declare unto all Christians, the Heathenishness of this Belief and Opinion. Which is manifest, appears only in the Writings of that Superstitious Age, one Instance of which, instead of the many other that could be produc'd on this Subject, I shall give from *Hypsiphyle's* Description of *Medea*.

*Illa reluctanter cuasu deducere Lunam  
Nititur, & tenebris abdere Solis equos.  
Illa refranat aquas, obliquaq; Elumina sistit;  
Illa loco sylvas, vivaq; saxa movet.*



*Per Tumulous errat, sparsis distincta Capillis;*

*Certaq; de tepidis colligit ossa Rogis.*

*Devovet absentes, simulachraq; Cerea figit*

*Et miserum tenues in Jecur urget Acus.*

She from her Course the *struggling Moon* would  
The Sun himself in Magick Shades infold : (hold  
She curbs the Waves, and stops the rapid Floods,  
And from her seat removes whole Rocks & Woods.  
With her dishevel'd Hair the wandering Hag,  
Does *half-burnt Bones* from their *warm Ashes* drag.  
In molten Wax, tho' absent, kills by Art,  
Arm'd with her Needle, goars a tortur'd Heart.

'Tis true indeed, the Pontifical Authors make a great stir in their Answers to the abovemention'd Decree of the *Ancyran Council*, sometimes endeavouring to evade its Force with their absurd Interpretations, sometimes to throw Dirt into the Face of the Council, as if it were not to be regarded: But *Alciat* in his *Parerga*, does ingeniously confess, that in these their Answers, *nec Cælum, nec Terram attingunt*, they have neither Head nor Tail. And which is more to be wonder'd at, *Martin Delrio* the Jesuit is in this point so very impartial, as to dissent from *Baronius*, who judges that this Council was held at *Rome* under *Damascus*, in the Days of *St. Hierom*: *Delrio* for sundry Reasons, believing it to have been really held at *Ancyra* the Metropolis of *Galatia*, according to the Common Assertion of those who Collected the Antient Canons.

For this Decree of the *Ancyran Council* was the more necessary, in regard that a little before *Manes*, or *Manicheus* had spread abroad, through the whole Christian World, that old Heathenish Doctrine of the Two Prin-

ciples, one of Good and the other of Evil: And it is remarkable, That *Witches* and *Manicheans* are coupled together by the Emperors *Dioclesian* and *Maximian*, in their Prescript to *Julian* the Proconsul of *Africa*, de *Maleficiis*, & *Manichæis*, as it is cited out of the *Gregorian Code*, by *Ruffinus*, in his Collation of the Jewish with the Roman Laws. About a Hundred Years after, and some what more, *Priscillian* and his Followers, did, in a great Measure, embrace the Doctrine of *Manes*, in somuch that in the Year Five Hundred Sixty Three, there was a Council held at *Bracara*, a Town of *Galicia* in *Spain*, against the *Priscillianists*. In the Decrees of this Council *Manes* and *Priscillian* are frequently join'd together, for their Foolish Conceits, concerning the Power of the Devil, or Evil Principle; but especially they have one Decree very applicable to our present Purpose, wherein they Anathematize all those, who believe that the Devil can make any Creature, or so much as raise Storms and Tempests by his own Authority and Power: The Words are these, *Si quis credit, quod aliquantas in Mundo Creaturas Diabolus fecerit, & Tonitrua, & Fulgura, & Tempestates, & Siccitates, ipse Diabolus sua Auctoritate faciat, sicut Priscillianus dixit, Anathema sit.* If any one believes that the Devil can form or make any Creatures, or that the Infernal Spirit, by the Means of his own Power, can create Thunder and Lightning, and Rain, and Drowth as *Priscillian* has affirm'd, let him be *Excommunicated* and *Accursed*. Wherefore if the Devil cannot raise Tempests by his own Sufficiency, he did no more

in the Case of *Job* ( which is always brought in as an Argument against it ) than *Eliab*, or any Mortal Man may do, when he receiv's a Commission from God. Hence I infer, That the Doctrine of *Witchcraft* magnifying the Diabolical Power beyond its due Proportion, doth savour too Rankly of *Priscillian* and *Manes*, and the Heathen World.

And now it is worth the while, in the fifth Place, to consider what these Men can say for themselves, who so obstinately maintain there are *Witches*; for they being on the Affirmative Part, are bound, by the Laws of Disputation, to prove what they affirm, and 'tis sufficient for their Adversaries to confute their Proofs. But alas! these Men are generally ignorant of the History of Ages that are gone and past, and of the Scriptures also, as to what concerns the Question in Hand. Wherefore they are all wont to wave Argument, and to cry out, *This is a Question not to be disputed upon, in Regard it is a Matter of Fact, and consequently the Object of Sense, and not of Reason.* Thus, when they are got to their Castle of Defence, they make a great Noise, and cry out upon the Unreasonableness of others, who will not believe what so many *Worshipful Persons* in the World have heard and seen. And what is that, I pray? Why they have heard Trumpets sound, and Drums beat, when neither Trumpeter nor Drummer have been near the Place. They have seen Chairs and Stools move up and down a Room, when no Body has touch'd them, with many other Things full as strange. Thus will they tell Stories  
of

of this Nature from Morning to Night, tho' when they have done, they say nothing to the Purpose. For suppose that all these Stories were unquestionably true, yet they wou'd not suffice to prove *Witchcraft*. I confess indeed they would evince the being of Spirits, a Thing which no Wise Man can deny, tho' he doth not believe it. For it is one Thing to doubt, and another to deny. For my own Part, I firmly believe that there are many Thousands of Spirits, made of an *Incorporeal Matter*, too fine to be perceiv'd by the Senses of Men. Nor will I contradict the Authority of so many in the World, who affirm they have heard the strange Things which I just now mention'd; supposing that these Spirits may often play mad Tricks among us. But still I demand a Reason why I should believe that they do so, upon the Account of a Contract made with any Man or Woman; for till this is prov'd, the Question of *Witchcraft* stands undetermin'd.

Well then, how do the Affirmers of it go about to prove, that any Man or Woman is Interested in these *Devilish Pranks*? Why, truly, by Telling such Stories as these; namely, That the Persons tormented by Devils, have fallen into their Fits at the Sight, or upon the Touch of suspected *Witches*: As also that Persons, thus tormented, have seen the suspected *Witches* in this or that Place of the Room, where no Stander by else could see any Thing at all, &c. Now here is to be observ'd, that these Kind of Stories are far different from those, which, I said before, did evince the Being of Spirits; for they are attested by numerous Authorities,



thorities, and worthy of Credit. But these are quite contrary, and founded partly in the *Juggling Delusions* of *Confederated Impostors*, partly in the *Errors or ridiculous Mistakes* of *Vulgar Rumours*. Nevertheless, that I may not be too strict with my Adversaries, I care not if I grant some of these Stories to be true. For Instance; That there have been Persons vex'd by *Devils* at the Sight, or upon the Touch of suspected *Witches*, and quiet again when they were parted: For tho' I should grant this, I see no Reason whereby to conclude there are no such Beings as *Witches*, but rather that these Spirits, who are so Frolick and Game-some in doing us Mischief, when they perceive Persons suspected to have set them at Work, may, on Purpose, so manage their malicious Tricks, as to confirm the Suspicion, promote the Accusation, procure the Condemnation of these miserable Wretches, and then may account it the Cream of their malicious Tricks to see poor Innocent People Hang'd. Now this Answer of mine, altho' it be needless, and *ex abundanti*, is far more easy and unconstrain'd than any Thing that the contrary Opinion can answer to those Objections, which may be made against that Absurd and Ridiculous Conceit of Seeing a *Witch* present, that is really at many Miles Distance.

Again, those that stand up for the Being of this Fictitious Power, are wont to say, that immediately upon the Threatning or Cursing used by this or that Person, such or such an Accident hath happen'd to the Person so Threatned and Cursed. These Men would do well to consider, that this World hath stood many Thousand Years, and is of vast Extent, containing many Countries, or Nations full of Men that have divers Interests and Passions; wherefore it is not to be wonder'd at, if there hath often happen'd in it a notable concurrence of Events. 'Tis certain that poor old People, when they are abus'd by the Insulting Petulancy of others, being unable to right themselves, either at Law or at Combat, for want of Money,

Money, and Strength of Body, do oftentimes vent the Passion of their Discontented Souls in Threats and Curses. 'Tis also certain, that many Men troubled with Diseases of the Head or Heart, seem to be perfect Health, and yet fall down Dead of a sudden. Now if these Two Accidents should meet together, I should see nothing but what is Natural, nor should I cry out upon the *Devil* and *Witchcraft*.

But methinks I hear some Zealots Object, and say, with great Vehemence, and Assurance: *What need there be any Dispute about these Stories, since Parties themselves, as this Woman in particular, have Confessed their own Witchcraft; and can there be any Thing clearer than Self-Confession?* To this I answer, That the Wisest Men in the World may be brought, by Imprisonment and Torture, to confess any thing, whether it be True or False; as many Miserable Creatures confessing themselves *Witches*, have had their Confessions extorted from them by such cursed Means. Besides, I am not to doubt, but some poor, silly, melancholy old Wretches have really believ'd themselves *Witches*, and to be guilty of those Actions, which not only their foolish Neighbours, but Men that are call'd *Worshipful*, have charged them with. Nor is it to be wonder'd at by any one that considers the strange Effects of Melancholy, especially if heightned by Poverty, or want of Good Diet, by Ignorance, Solitariness, and Old Age. For that such People take their very Dreams to be real Visions and Truths, I am sure, not only by Consequences drawn from their Actions, reported in Books, but by Experience also of my own Acquaintance. The Truth is, want of Knowledge in the Art of Physick makes Men attribute mere Natural Distempers to Spirits; Nay, Physicians themselves, who have shewn Excellency of Skill in Anotomy and Chymistry, perhaps have added little or nothing to the Diagnostick part of Diseases, so happily begun by *Hippocrates*. Hence it is that we  
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are still in the Dark, as to the Abstruser Distempers of Human Bodies, especially such as arise from Melancholy; which are of so many Sorts, and have such wonderful Effects, that whosoever should rightly Describe them, and make them plainly Manifest, would Discover to us an unknown World full of unheard of prodigious Monsters. Thus I have sufficiently Answered the most material Objections, not thinking it worth the while to insist upon every Triffle, such as this is. Why do you not believe that, which so many Thousands of Wise Men in the World have believed? Surely they could not all be deceived, &c. As if a Man did not make Proclamation of his own Folly, by such an Argument, when the various Religions that have been in the World, are more than enough to convince any Rational Person, how Absurd and Ridiculous the Wisest of Men are in Matters of Opinion or Belief.

By this time I cannot chuse but wonder, *Sixthly*, at the spreading of this foolish Opinion amongst Men, and its taking such deep Root in their Minds; but then I cease admiring when I Consider, That some Men are Knaves, others are Fools, and that all have Fear implanted in them by Nature, the very strongest of all their Passions: For, though it be an Impious and Irrational Saying, *That Fear was the first Thing that brought Gods into the World*; yet I am not apt to believe, *It first of all brought in those Omnipotent Witches that contract with Devils*. Now, that Fear very frequently, presents Apparitions to Melancholick and Diseas'd Persons, was well  

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enough

enough known to those who govern'd the  
 Antient World, especially the *Eastern Parts*  
 of it, for they were wise *Politicians*, Men  
 famous in their Generations, and very much  
 experienced in the Nature of Mankind.  
 Wherefore knowing how Furious and Head-  
 strong a Beast, the Multitude is, not to be  
 dealt with, unless you come as it were on  
 their blind Side, that is, unless you take them  
 by the weakest Part, and lay hold of their  
 Passion of Fear, (I say knowing this) they  
 promoted these People, and improv'd them  
 for the Designs of Government. Hence it came  
 to pass that whatsoever was extraordinary in  
 Nature, & apt to astonish, was, by them, ascrib'd  
 to these Apparitions or Spirits; Namely in the  
 upper Regions of the Heavens, the Eclipses  
 of the Sun and Moon, Thunder and Light-  
 ning in the Clouds, Pestilential Seasons, as  
 also those of Famine here below, likewise the  
 most hideous of Diseases, whether they were  
 strange Kinds of Tumours in the Body, or  
 Convulsion Fits, or several Sorts of Madness,  
 &c. For the Remedying of which disastrous  
 Accident, and the Taking away of their  
 malignant Effects, many Charms or Spells  
 were ordain'd; many Exercising or Conjuring  
 Prayers were invented; In a Word, many  
 Religious Rites or Ceremonies of Worship  
 were instituted with a World of Vanity and  
 Fancy. The *Egyptians*, that Antient and Wise  
 People, the very Fathers of Learning, had a  
 Respect unto these Kind of Spirits in their  
 Publick Worship, as may be gather'd from  
*Plutarch* in his Treatise concerning the Decay  
 of



of Oracles, where he brings in this Consideration of their Religious Rites, as a probable Argument that they were the first *Opiners* of *Demons*; I mean, the first that brought in the Opinion of the Existence of Devils.

In process of Time, those Actions of the Priests, and great Politicians of the World, began to be imitated by Private Persons, not only Men, but Women also, such as she was that dwelt at *Endor*, for what will not some attempt to do, when a *necessitous Poverty* doth torment them with a greedy desire of Gain? These kind of *shirking People*, a Generation of *impudent Liars*, *Mountebanks in Divinity and Physick*, have all along pester'd the Age in which they lived. *Hipocrates*, Treating *περὶ τῆς ἐν ὄντι νόσου*, or the *Falling-Sickness*, hath excellently well describ'd the *Knaveish Impostures* of some in his Times, who, to cloak their Ignorance of that Disease, pretended it came immediately from the *Hand of God*, and therefore was to be Cured with certain *Expiations* and *Charms*. These Men, says he, *had nothing but God in their Mouths*, and yet, notwithstanding this Holiness, they basely deluded the People with *Magick Cheats*: So also did the Heathen Divines, I mean their pretended *Philosophers*, Men full of Words and Beards, who, for the love of Gain and a Croud of Disciples, would frequently make shew of, I know not what, *Sublimity of Knowledge*, and *Intimate Acquaintance with the Deity*, by vertue whereof they would undertake to  *Charm and Exorcise Evil Spirits*. *Lucian*, in his Dialogue, Entitled,

φιλοψεύδεις, or *Lovers of Lies*, makes very good Sport with these sort of Fellows.

Now when *Hunger* and *Covetousness* had engaged private Persons in the same *Knaveish Impositions*, which the *Priests* set on Foot out of *Policy*, they not enduring to see their Office invaded, did declare unto the World, *That all such as attempted Sacred Things, contrary to the due Rights and Ceremonies, were so far from any Communion with the Gods, that they were rather Abandon'd by them, and expos'd to the Society of Evil Spirits; by which Conversation they became full of Malice, and all sorts of Vice and Mischief, like unto the Devils, with whom they conversed:* For that this was the Assertion of the Antient *Chaldean Priests*, is evident, in that Treatise of *Jamblichus*, which treats of the Mysteries of the *Egyptians, Chaldeans, and Assyrians*. And thus, I suppose, I have given a true Account of the Rise and Origin of *Witchcraft*.

But howsoever this Opinion of *Witches* might, probably, take its first Rise in the *Eastern Parts*, it quickly also came into the *West*, and there, at length, it very much prevailed, by reason of the *Platonick Philosophy*: For these Men being addicted to Fables and Allegories, became so vain, as to turn those Fables and Allegories into Reality. In a word, whosoever reads the *Platonick Writings*, must find them full of confident Discourse, about what they did not understand, concerning the *Gods, Demons, and Spirits of Men*. Much is their Talk of a *Familiar Spirit* which every Man hath, calling it sometimes, the, *ὁ οἰκεῖ* sometimes *ὁ σύνων*, sometimes the *ὁ ἐπιληχαι ἡμᾶς δαίμων*.

δαίμων. Nor is it to be wonder'd at, if *Christian* Authors have too much exceeded on such Subjects, in regard 'tis well enough known how much the *Primitive Christians* admir'd the *Platonick Sect*. Nor is it unlikely, that in their frequent *Exorcisings* and *Conjurations*, they did but imitate the *Platonicks*, who themselves did, therein, but tread in the Steps of the *Antient Egyptian Priests*: Amongst whom, it's usual to Conjure the Devils, with strange kinds of Threats, *viz.* That if they would not do as the Priests would have them, *They would tear the Heavens assunder, and reveal the Secret of Isis*, as may be seen in *Jamblicus*, whom I have before quoted.

Thus am I come to a Period, to the satisfaction, I hope, of the Gentleman that put me upon this Work, by his Desire to me in writing, and those that give themselves the Trouble of reading it; and if I have advanced Opinions contrary to those of the Worshipful Sir *Henry Chauncey*, whose great Age may excuse the Commitment of the Person that occasions this Dissertation, and cannot join with the Reverend Clergymen, whose Depositions were thought of weight enough, by the Jury, to bring her in Guilty, and whose Prayers of sufficient Efficacy to work a Miracle, and drive the Devil out of the poor sickly Creature, suppos'd to be *Bewitch'd*; it is to be presum'd I shall not be thought to fall under the Statute of *Defamation*, or be denied the *Benefit of my Clergy*. To sum up the whole, I have, in the *First Place*, shewn, That there is no such Thing as a Witch in Scripture.

*Secondly,*

*Secondly*, That it took its Beginning from Heathen Fables. *Thirdly*, That it was afterwards Improved by Papal Impostures. In the *Fourth Place*, I have produc'd several Arguments against the Affirmers of Witchcraft. *Fifthly*, I have answer'd other Arguments to the Contrary. *Sixthly*, and Lastly, I have endeavour'd to shew, by what Means this Opinion of Witches came into the World, all which I have handled Succinctly, pointing as it were, at the Heads of Things, and leaving it to some abler Pen, to handle this Question more at large: A thing which is very useful to be done, for if the Doctrine of *Witchcraft* should be carried up to a Hight, and the Inquisition after it should be intrusted in the Hands of *Ambitious, Covetous, and Malicious Men*, it would prove of more fatal Consequence to the Lives and Safety of Mankind, than that Antient Heathenish Custom of *Sacrificing Men to Idols*; insomuch, that we stand in need of another *Hercules Liberator*, who, as the former freed the World from *Human Sacrifices*, should, in like manner, Travel from Country to Country, and by his all-commanding Authority, free it from the evil and base Custom of *Imprisoning People to confess themselves Witches, and Burning them after extorted Confessions*. Surely the Blood of Mankind ought not to be so cheap, nor so easily to be shed, by such who under the Name of God, gratify exorbitant Passions and Selfish-Ends; for without Question, under this side of Heaven, there is nothing so Sacred as the Life of Man, for the Preservation whereof,  
all



all Policies or Forms of Government, all Laws  
 and Magistrates are most especially ordain'd.  
 Wherefore I take the Liberty to affirm, That  
 this Discourse of mine, attempting to prove  
 the Vanity and Impossibility of *Witchcraft*,  
 is so far from any deserved Censure and  
 Blame, that it rather merits Commendation  
 and Praise, if I can but in the least measure  
 contribute to the saving of the Lives of my  
 Fellow Creatures.

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# WITCHCRAFT

Farther Display'd.

CONTAINING

- I. An Account of the *Witchcraft* practis'd by JANE WENHAM of *Walkerne*, in *Hertfordshire*, since her Condemnation, upon the Bodies of ANNE THORN and ANNE STREET, and the deplorable Condition in which they still remain.
- II. An Answer to the most general Objections against the Being and Power of WITCHES : With some Remarks upon the Case of JANE WENHAM in particular, and on Mr. Justice POWEL's Procedure therein.

To which are added,

The TRYALS of FLORENCE NEWTON, a famous *Irish Witch*, at the Assizes held at *Cork*, Anno 1661; as also of two WITCHES at the Assizes held at *Bury St. Edmonds* in *Suffolk*, Anno 1664, before Sir MATTHEW HALE, (then Lord Chief Baron of the *Exchequer*) who were found guilty and executed.

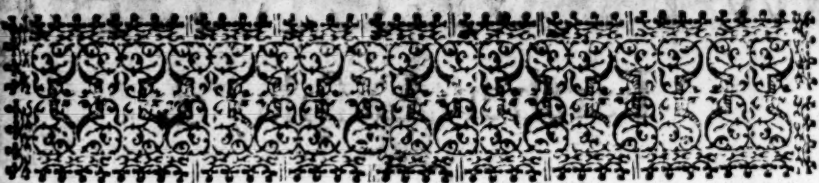
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*Now the Works of the Flesh are manifest, which are these, Adultery, Fornication, Uncleannefs, Lasciviousnefs, Idolatry, Witchcraft, &c. Galat. Chap. V. Vers. 19, 20.*

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L O N D O N,

Printed for E. CURLL, at the Dial and Bible against St. Dunstan's Church in Fleet-Street, 1712. Price 6 d. Where may be had, The TRYAL and PROCEEDINGS at large against *Jane Wenham*, at *Hertford-Assizes*. Price 6 d.



# Introduction.

**A**FTER having, in as plain and clear a Manner as I could, given the World a full and true Account of the Proceedings against *Jane Wenham*, I was in hopes that I should have no farther Occasion to divert my Pen from some other much more important Subjects, which I was engag'd in, both by Duty and Inclination.

But being inform'd, that the *Incredulity* of the Judge, together with the great Proneness of the Age to *Sadducism* and Infidelity, had caus'd many Objections to be rais'd against that faithful and impartial Relation of *Matter of Fact*, I thought my self oblig'd, for my own Vindication, and that of the Persons principally concern'd in the Prosecution, not to remain silent, when I had so much to urge in my Defence.

In order to which, I first present my Reader with an Abstract of a famous Tryal of two Witches before the Great and Good Sir *Matthew Hale*, a Man too well known to need any *Encomiums*, either for his *Piety*, or *Knowledge in the Law*; and it is humbly hop'd, that his declar'd Opinion, that *there were really such Persons as Witches*, will be put in the Ballance with that of Mr. Justice *Powel*.

Having also, upon reading Mr. *Glanvil's* Book, met with an Instance of a Discovery of Witchcraft, almost in every Circumstance agreeing with our Case, I thought my self oblig'd to insert it with Observations upon those parts of it which so nearly resemble our particular Case, that the one seems to be a Copy of the other.

I have also, for the Satisfaction of some honest Gentlemen, who never had any Occasion to enquire into these Matters, and disbelieve the Being and Power of Witches, upon the Prejudices of Education only, thou'ht fit to represent fairly to them all the most material Objections that are rais'd against the Belief of such Stories, and have endeavour'd to keep my self to such a plain way of solving these Difficulties, as may be understood by ordinary Capacities. For which Reason I have industriously avoided any nice and philosophical Disquisitions relating to the

Nature



## INTRODUCTION

*Nature and Being of Spirits in general, and suppose my Reader to be a Christian, and Believer of the Holy Scriptures.*

But as I doubt not but those who have read my former Account, would be glad to know in what Condition the two poor afflicted Creatures are in at present, so I think the Relation of it may possibly serve to other good Ends, and convince some Unbelievers; and therefore I shall acquaint my Reader what to my own knowledge has pass'd since the printing of the above-mention'd Narrative, which, tho' not sworn yet before any Magistrate, yet I can assure him is nothing but the Truth.

*Anne Thorn* continues to be frequently troubl'd with the Apparition either of *Jane Wenham* in her own Shape, or that of a Cat, which speaks to her, and tempts her to destroy her self with a Knife that it brings along with it. On the 18th of *March* particularly, it came to her, and spoke as usual; upon which *Anne Thorn* fell into a Fit, and recovering by Prayers, she took up the Bible and fell to Reading. While the Book was in her Hands, she perceiv'd something pull it from her, and she was forc'd to let it fall. Three Persons who were then in the Room with her, took up the Bible and endeavour'd to hold it in her Hands, but all their Strength could not do it, the Book being violently taken away from them, and flung to the Ground. At the same Time *Anne Thorn* cry'd out, she was prick'd in the Hand, and when they look'd on her Hand, it bled, and seem'd to have been prick'd with a Pen.

Another Thing still more remarkable, happen'd to this unhappy Maid. On *Thursday* the 27th of *March*, she at first perceiv'd a strange Numbness in two of her Fingers, which was succeeded by a violent Pain in her Wrist, and in an Hour or two afterward, she could not stir her Hand, and her Wrist seem'd to be out of Joint, altho' she knew not how it was hurt. Upon which she was sent to the Bone-setter, who affirm'd that the Bone was above an Inch out of its Place, and did set it. When *Anne Thorn* was return'd home, this Cat came again to her, and brought her a Knife, bidding her not mind what those about said to her, but cut her Throat, and she should be well. She has several Times since seen the Cat, who brought her once a Razor, and upon her refusing to take it, the Cat said, I'll go to *Nam Street*, and she will take it; and it was found that exactly at that Time the Cat appear'd to *Anne Street*, and offer'd her a Razor.

This *Anne Street* continues also in a strange Condition, and is often troubl'd with the Apparition of this Cat, as also of a Dog which accompanies her. On *Thursday* the 27th of *March*, she says, this Dog came to her, bidding her come out; and upon her saying her Prayers, he went away for the pre-

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## INTRODUCTION.

sent, but in the Afternoon, about five a Clock, she saw the Dog again, who bad her follow him to the River, and she says he ran before her, and she follow'd him, but before she got to the River, three Men met her, and brought her home, after which she fell into a Fit, and was recover'd by Prayers.

On *Saturday* following, she says, she saw the Cat again in the Yard, it spoke to her, bidding her hang her self with her Garter, or cut her Throat with a Razor; and after the Cat was gone, *Anne Street* was grievously pinch'd in the Arm, she knew not how.

The next Day also she saw the Cat, and was pinch'd; and at Night a Rapping was hear'd at the Window by all that were present; after which, a Noise was heard as of a Woman crying under the Window, for four Hours together, tho' nothing was to be seen.

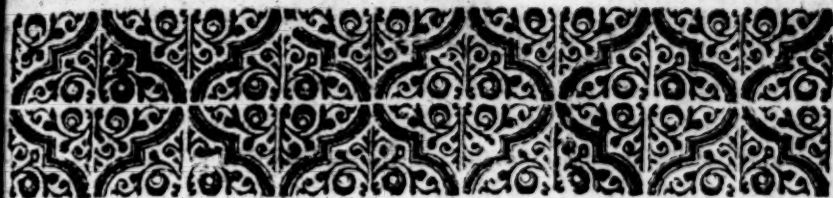
On *Monday* Night, being the 31<sup>st</sup>, she saw *Fane Wenham* again in her own Shape, but she went away upon *Anne Street's* saying her Prayers, and she has not been troubl'd since that Time, to this present Day, the 3<sup>d</sup> of *April*.

As for Mother *Wenham*, I hear she has found out a Way to get plenty of Money while she is in Prison. She says she was prosecuted out of Spite, only because she went to the *Dissenting Meetings*: And by this Means, she gets Contributions from the Party: And of a wicked old Witch, is on a sudden become a precious Saint. This Story put me upon enquiring of Mr. *Gardiner*, whether she had ever been counted a Dissenter, and he declares, that he never before heard that she us'd to go to any Place of Divine Worship, and that he never took her to be of any Religion at all; however, we are very willing to part with her, and wish the Fanaticks much Joy of their new Convert.

I shall only take Notice of one Thing more to the Reader viz. to assure him that neither Mr. *Gardiner*, nor Mr. *Strutt* had any Hand in writing the Narrative of the Proceedings against *Fane Wenham*, altho' they are both Witnesses to the Truth of it; so that some Gentlemen (who in Justice and Gratitude, as well as good Manners, ought to have held their Tongues) might as well have spar'd their personal Reflections.

*Ardely-Bury, April*  
the 3<sup>d</sup>, 1712.

F. B



*An Account of the TRYAL of Amy Duny, and Rose Cullender, for Witchcraft, at the Assizes held at Bury St. Edmonds, in Suffolk, March 10. 1664. before Sir Matthew Hale, Knight, then Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer.*

**A**MY Duny and Rose Cullender, both of Leystoff, in Suffolk, were severally indicted for bewitching Elizabeth, Anne, and William Durent, Jane Bocking, Susan Chandler, Elizabeth and Deborah Pacey.

When the Prosecutors were giving Directions for laying the Indictment, three of the afflicted Persons, viz. Anne Durent, Susan Chandler, and Elizabeth Pacey, fell into violent Fits, screaming in a dismal Manner; so that they were incapable of giving their Evidence; and altho' they did at length recover out of their Fits, yet they continu'd speechless till the Conviction of the Prisoners.

The first Witness at the Tryal, was Dorothy Durent, who depos'd, That about the 10th of March, *nono Car. 2.* her Business calling her from Home, she left her Child, William Durent, (then a sucking Infant) to the Care of Amy Duny for a few Hours that she was absent; but strictly charg'd the said Amy not to give it Suck. Being ask'd what need there was of that Caution, Amy being an old Woman, and incapable of giving Suck? She answer'd, she knew she could not give Suck; but one Reason was, Amy had long had the Reputation of a Witch: Another was, it was usual with old Women, if they tended a sucking Child, and nothing else would please it, to give it the Breast, which must be pernicious to the Infant, who suck'd nothing but Wind. She said farther, That when she came Home, Amy told her, *That she had suck'd her Child, contrary to her Orders.* That upon this, she was very angry with Amy, who then threaten'd her in a great Rage, saying, *She had better have done something else, than*

have found Fault with her, and went away; and that very Night her Child was taken with strange and terrible Fits, and so continu'd for severa<sup>l</sup> Weeks.

The said *Dorothy Durent* farther said, That being full of Concern at her Child's Disorder, she went to one Dr. *Jacob*, who liv'd at *Yarmouth*, a Man famous for curing Persons bewitch'd. This Man advis'd her to hang the Child's Blanket all Day in the Chimney-Corner, and at Night to wrap her Child in it, advising her not to be afraid, if she saw any Thing in the Blanket, but take it and fling it into the Fire. She did so; and at Night, when she look'd into the Blanket, there fell from it a great Toad, which ran about the Floor. A young Man who was with this Examinant, catch'd this Toad, and held it in the Fire with a Pair of Tongs. Immediately it made a great Noise, to which succeeded a Flash like Gun-powder, follow'd by a Report as great as that of a Pistol; and after this, the Toad was no more seen, neither was its Substance perceiv'd to consume in the Fire.

She said farther, That a Neice of the said *Amy Duny*, came to her this Examinant the next Day, and told her, that her Aunt (meaning *Amy*) was in a sad Condition, her Face being scorch'd with Fire, and that she was sitting alone stript to her Smock, without any Fire. That she this Examinant went immediately to *Amy Duny*, and saw her Face, Legs, and Thighs much scorch'd with Fire. That she ask'd *Amy* how she came in that Condition, *Amy* answer'd, *She might thank her for it, she was the Cause of it; but she should see some of her Children dead, and go on Crutches herself.* This Examinant said farther, That since the burning the Toad, this Child was well, and is yet alive.

She said also, That about the 6th of *March*, 11 *Car. 2.* *Elizabeth Durent*, her Daughter, was taken with like Fits with the first, and cry'd out, That *Amy Duny* appear'd to her, and tormented her. That she this Examinant going to fetch some Physick for her Child, when she return'd Home, she found *Amy* there, who said, *She came to see her Child, and give it some Water.* At which this Examinant was very angry with her, and thrust her out of the House; upon which *Amy* said, *You need not be so angry, your Child will not live long;* which prov'd true, for her Child dy'd in two Days after; and this Examinant really believes, that



that *Amy Dury* did bewitch her Child to Death, she having long had the Reputation of a Witch, and some of her Relations having suffer'd for Witchcraft.

She farther said, That soon after the Death of her Daughter *Elizabeth*, this Examinant was taken lame in both her Legs, and was forc'd to go upon Crutches; which she continu'd to do to this Time. The Court ask'd her, *Whether it were with her, when she was took lame, according to the Custom of Women?* She answer'd, It was, and always was so, but when she was with Child.

So far this Witness. It was remarkable, that altho' she had gone upon Crutches for three Years, and did so at the Assizes, before *Amy Dury* was convicted, yet then she was immediately restor'd to her Strength, and went Home without Crutches.

As for *Elizabeth* and *Deborah Pacey*, the eldest about 11 Years old, as I said before, was taken with a Fit, and continu'd speechless. While she was in her Fit, she appear'd at first without any Symptom of Life, saving that her Stomach and Belly, when she drew her Breath, would rise to a great Height. Afterwards, when she was a little better, she lean'd her Head upon a Cushion laid over the Bar of the Court, with her Apron over her Head, and her Hand upon it, and continu'd in this Posture, 'till, by Order of the Judge, *Amy Dury* was brought privately to her, and touch'd her Hand; upon which, the Child, whose Eyes had been fast clos'd all this while, slew at *Amy*, and scratch'd her, and was hardly forc'd from her, and afterwards made many Signs of Eagerness to come at her.

*Deborah*, the youngest, was so ill, that she could not be brought to the Assizes. The Evidence relating to these two, was as follows:

*Samuel Pacey*, of *Leystoft*, Merchant, (a sober good Man) being sworn, said, That on *Thursday* the 10th of *October* last, his younger Daughter *Deborah*, about nine Years old, was suddenly taken so lame, that she could not stand on her Legs, and so continu'd 'till the 17th of the same Month, when the Child desir'd to be carry'd to a Bank on the *East* Side of the House, looking towards the Sea; and while she was sitting there, *Amy Dury* came to this Examinant's House, to buy some Herrings, but was deny'd. Then she came twice more, but being as often deny'd, she went away discontented and fumbling. At

this Instant of Time, the Child was taken with terrible Fits, complaining of a Pain in her Stomach, as if she was prick'd with Pins, shrieking out with a Voice like a Whelp, and thus continu'd 'till the 30th of the same Month.

In the mean Time, Dr. Fearor was sent for, who declar'd to this Examinant, (and afterwards at the Tryal) That he could not conceive the Cause of the Child's Affliction. And farther, this Examinant saith, That *Amy Duny* having long had the Reputation of a Witch, and his Child having in the Intervals of her Fits, constantly cry'd out on her, as the Cause of her Disorder, and said, that the said *Amy* did appear to her, and fright her. He did suspect the said *Amy Duny* to be a Witch, and charg'd her with being the Cause of his Child's Illness, and set her in the Stocks. That while she was in the Stocks, *Alice Letteridge* and *Jane Buxton*, (who afterwards depos'd the same in Court) ask'd *Amy* what was the Reason of Mr. Pacey's Child's Illness, telling her they heard she had a Hand in't? She answer'd, *Mr. Pacey keeps a great Sin with his Child, but let him stay 'till he has done as much by his Children, as I have done by mine.* Being ask'd what was that, she said, *She had been fain to open her Child's Mouth with a Tap, to give it Victuals.*

He farther said, That two Days after his Daughter, *Elizabeth* was taken with such strange Fits, that they could not force open her Mouth without a Tap, which they were compell'd to use; and the younger Child being in the same Condition, they us'd to her the same Remedy.

He said also, That both Children would grievously complain, that *Amy Duny*, and another Woman, whose Habit and Looks they describ'd, did appear to them, and torment them, and would cry out, *There stands Amy Duny, There stands Rose Cullender*, the other Person who afflicted them.

Their Fits were not alike; sometimes they were lame on the Right Side, sometimes on the Left; sometimes so sore they could not bear to be touch'd; sometimes perfectly well in other Respects, but they could not bear; at other Times they could not see; sometimes they lost their Speech for one, two, and once eight Days together. At times they had swooning Fits, and when they could speak, were taken with a Fit of Coughing, and vomited Flegm and bloody Pins, and once a great Two-penny Nail,

Nail, with above 40 Pins, which Nail the Examinant said he saw vomited up, and many of the Pins. The Nail and Pins were produc'd in the Court. They usually vomited a Pin towards the End of a Fit, four or five of which they sometimes had in a Day.

Thus the Children continu'd for two Months, in which Time this Examinant often made 'em read in the *New Testament*, and observ'd when they came to the Words *Lord, Jesus, or Christ*, they could not pronounce them, but fell into a Fit. When they came to the Word *Satan, or Devil*, they would point, and say, *This bites, but makes me speak right well*. He said, That in the Intervals of the Fits, which he thinks occasion'd by naming *Lord, Jesus, or Christ*, he ask'd them why they could not speak those Words, they would say, *Amy Duny saith I must not use that Name*.

He said also, That his Children would say *Amy Duny* often appear'd to 'em, with *Rose Cullender*, and threaten'd 'em, *That if they told what they saw or heard, they would torment 'em ten times more than ever they did before*. That the Children would run to the Place where they fancy'd 'em to be sometimes spinning, sometimes reeling, in various Postures, threatening them.

This Examinant saith farther, That finding his Children thus tormented, without Hopes of Recovery, he sent them to his Sister *Margaret Arnold*, at *Yarmouth*, being willing to try whether Change of Air would help 'em, and refers to her the Relation of what happen'd to them afterwards.

*Margaret Arnold* being sworn, saith, That about the 30th of *November*, *Elizabeth* and *Deborah Pacey* came to her House, with her Brother, who told her what had happen'd at his House, and that he thought his Children bewitch'd; but she this Examinant did not much regard it, supposing the Children had play'd Tricks, and put the Pins into their Mouths themselves. She therefore took all the Pins from their Cloths, sowing them with Thread, instead of pinning them. But notwithstanding, they rais'd at times at least 30 Pins in her Presence, and had terrible Fits; in which Fits they would cry out upon *Amy Duny* and *Rose Cullender*, saying they saw them, and heard them threatening as before. That they saw Things like Mice running about the House, and one of them catch'd one of them,

them, and throw it into the Fire, which made a Noise like a Rat.

Another Time the younger Child being out of Doors, a Thing like a Bee would have forc'd it self into her Mouth, at which the Child ran screaming into the House, and before this Examinant could come to her, fell into a Fit, and vomited a Two-penny Nail with a broad Head; and after that, this Examinant ask'd the Child how she came by this Nail, she answer'd, *The Bee brought the Nail, and forc'd it into her Mouth.*

At other times the eldest Child told this Examinant, That she saw Flies bring her crooked Pins, and then she would fall into a Fit, and vomit such Pins. One time the said Child said she saw a Mouse, and crept under the Table to look for it; and afterwards the Child seem'd to put something in her Apron, saying, *She had caught it,* and ran to the Fire and threw it in, on which did appear to this Examinant something like a Flash of Gun-powder, altho' she does own she saw nothing in the Child's Hand.

Once the Child being speechless, but otherwise very sensible, ran up and down the House, crying, *Hush, hush,* as if she had seen Poultry; but this Examinant saw nothing. At last the Child catch'd at something, and threw it into the Fire. Afterwards, when the Child could speak, this Examinant ask'd her what she saw at that time, she answer'd, *She saw a Duck.* Another time the youngest Child said after a Fit, That *Amy Dury* had been with her, and tempted her to drown herself, or cut her Throat, or otherwise destroy herself. Another time they both cry'd out of *Amy Dury* and *Rose Cullender*, saying, *Why don't you come your selves? why do you send your Imps to torment us?*

This Examinant farther saith, That she did set down these Things as they happen'd, and that she does really believe these Children are bewitch'd by *Amy Dury* and *Rose Cullender*, although at first she was not inclinable to think so.

*Anne Durent* was another of the Persons afflicted, and then present in Court.

Her Father, *Edmund Durent*, of *Leystoff*, being sworn, said, That towards the End of *November* last, *Rose Cullender* came to his House to buy Herrings of his Wife, who refus'd to let her have any; upon which, the said *Rose* went away seemingly angry. That afterwards, on the 1st of

*December*



( 7 )  
December following, *Anne Durent*, his Daughter, complain'd of a sad Pain in her Stomach, like the pricking of Pins, and soon after fell into swooning Fits; and upon her Recovery, she cry'd out, that she had seen the Apparition of *Rose Cullender*, who threaten'd to torment her; and thus she continu'd (having vomited up several Pins, which were produc'd in Court) until the Assizes. This *Anne Durent* was then in Court, but could not give her Evidence, by Reason of strange Fits she fell into at the sight of *Rose Cullender*.

*Anne Baldwin* being sworn, testify'd the same Thing as to *Anne Durent's* being bewitch'd.

*Jane Bocking*, another of the afflicted, was so ill, that she could not come to the Assizes. But as to her

*Diana Bocking*, of *Leystoff*, was sworn, and said, Her Daughter, *Jane Bocking*, had been formerly troubl'd with Fits, but always recover'd of them; but on the 1st of February last, she complain'd grievously of a strange Pain in her Stomach, as if it had been prick'd with Pins, and fell afterwards into a Fit, and had many Returns of these Fits all this Time, eating little or nought, and often vomited crooked Pins, particularly on Sunday last she brought up seven of them. When she was in her Fits, she would spread Abroad her Arms, and use Postures as if she catch'd at something, with her Hands open, and then would shut 'em again; and upon opening her Hands, crooked Pins were found in 'em, altho' it could not be perceiv'd how they could be brought to her. At another time she talk'd in her Fits as if to some Person, (altho' she would take no Notice of any that were present) then she held out her Hand, saying, *I will not have it, I will not have it*. Afterwards she said, *I will*, and shut her Hands close, and upon forcing her Hand open, was found in it a Lath-nail. She often cry'd out in her Fits, *There stands Rose Cullender at the Bed's Feet*; sometimes she said *she saw her at the Bed's Head*, and sometimes in other Places. Afterwards she was speechless for several Days, tho' not in Fits. When she could speak, she desir'd some Meat, and being ask'd why she did not speak in so many Days, she said, *Amy Dury would not let her*. The Pins and Nail were shewn in Court.

As to *Susan Chandler*, another of the afflicted, and in Court, her Mother, *Mary Chandler*, being sworn, said, That

That about the Beginning of *February* last, she was appointed, among five other Women, by Sir *Edmond Bacon* (who had granted a Warrant against the Prisoners upon the Complaint of Mr. *Pacey*) to search the Bodies of the Prisoners. That they went to *Rose Cullender*, and told her they had Orders to search her Body, which she consented to. That having stript her naked, they began at her Head, and toward the Bottom of her Belly, they found something like a Teat, about an Inch long. Being questioned about it, she said, *She had got a Strain by carrying Water, which was the Cause of that Excrescence.* On farther Search, they found in her Privities more of these Teats, but smaller than the other. This Examinant saith farther, That at the End of the long Teat, was a little Hole, that it seem'd to have been newly suck'd, and it being squeez'd, there came out white Milky Matter.

She said also, That her said Daughter *Susan*, then a Servant in *Leystoff*, and about 18 Years old, having Business to rise the next Morning to wash, saw *Rose Cullender* appear to her, and the said *Rose* took her by the Hand, at which she was much frighted, and came to this Examinant, and told her of it. Then she fell extremely sick, complaining grievously of her Stomach; and that Night, being in Bed with another young Woman, she shriek'd out, crying *Rose Cullender would come to Bed to her*, and fell into grievous Fits, beating herself in a terrible Manner. In her Intervals, she said sometimes *she saw Rose Cullender*, sometimes *she saw her*, and a great Dog with her. She vomited many crooked Pins, and was sometimes stricken blind, at other times dumb, as she was for the present in Court; but being carry'd out, in half an Hour she recover'd her Speech; and being brought in again, and ask'd whether she could give her Evidence, she said she could. But being sworn, and ask'd what she could say against the Prisoners, she fell into a grievous Fit, and cry'd out, *Burn her, Burn her*; which was all she could say.

*Robert Chandler* being sworn, agreed with his Wife in all Parts of her Evidence, except that concerning the searching *Rose Cullender*.

This was all the Evidence relating to the bewitching these Children. At the Tryal were many eminent Persons; and among the rest, Mr. Serjeant *Keeling*, who was unsatisfy'd

unsatisfy'd with the Evidence, which he thought not sufficient to convict the Prisoners. For supposing these Persons were bewitch'd, yet their Imagination only was not sufficient to fix it on the Prisoners; else who could be safe, since their Fancies might possibly run on an innocent Person?

The learned Dr. *Browne* of *Norwich*, being also present, was desir'd to give his Opinion of the three Persons in Court. He said he was clearly of Opinion, that they were bewitch'd; that there had lately been a Discovery of Witches in *Denmark*, who us'd the same Way of tormenting Persons, by conveying crooked Pins, Needles, and Nails into their Bodies. That he thought in such Cases the Devil acted upon Human Bodies, by natural Means, viz. By exciting and stirring up the super-abundant Humours, he did afflict them in a more surprizing Manner, by the same Diseases their Bodies were usually subject to. That these Fits might be natural, only rais'd to a great Degree, by the Subtilty of the Devil co-operating with the Malice of these Witches.

Besides the above-mention'd Particulars, other Tryals were made to satisfy the Court, that the Children were really bewitch'd.

At first the Prisoners were brought into Court to the afflicted, to touch them; and upon the least Touch of them, (of *Rose Cullender* in particular, tho' before they seem'd void of all Sense, and their Fists were fast clench'd, so that a strong Man could not force them open) they instantly shriek'd out, and open'd their Hands; but when any other Person touch'd 'em, they took no Notice of it; and altho' they were blinded, lest they should privately see, *Rose Cullender's* touching them had the same Effect.

An ingenious Person that was present, objected, that this Experiment was not sufficient to find the Prisoners guilty, since the Children might counterfeit, and perceiving when she touch'd them, put themselves into those violent Motions.

It was therefore privately desir'd by the Judge, that some eminent Gentlemen in Court would attend one of the distemper'd Persons, while she was in her Fits, at the other End of the Hall, and bring one of the Witches to her, and see what would follow. They did so, and the Maid being blinded, *Amy Dany* was brought near; but another

nother Person touch'd her, and the Touch had the same Effect with that which the Witches had. Whereupon the Gentlemen return'd, and protested they believ'd the whole Business an Imposture. This put the whole Court to a Stand. At that, Mr. *Pacey* said, The Maid might be deceiv'd by a Suspicion, that the Witch touch'd her, when she did not. That he observ'd, that in all her Fits, she was sensible of what was done to her; which was afterwards confirm'd by the Maid, when she recover'd, on Conviction of the Prisoners. And in some Mens Opinion, this was rather a Confirmation that they were really bewitch'd, than a Sign of Fallacy. For it is impossible, that Children as they were, and of several Families no way related to each other, should be able all to deceive their Relations; and 'tis unreasonable to think, that they should conspire together to take away the Lives of two silly Women; and the Prisoners themselves did scarce so much as object that there was any Malice in the Case. Therefore, say they, that extraordinary Commotion of the Spirits of the Children, at the approach of these Women, and no others, shows, that they were the Persons that did bewitch 'em.

Secondly, *John Soam* of *Leystoff*, being sworn, said, That not long since he had three Harvest-Carts going in to the Field to load; that one of them wrench'd the Window of *Rose Cullender*, who came out, and threaten'd him. That the other Carts went well enough, but this was overturn'd twice or thrice that Day. That they could not get it through a Gate, till they had cut down the Posts, altho' the Cart did not touch them; neither could they bring it to the Place where they would unload it, till the next Morning; and then they did it easily.

*Robert Sherringham* being sworn, said, That about two Years since the Axle-tree of his Cart broke down part of *Ros. Cullender's* House; upon which she threaten'd him in a great Rage, that his Horses should suffer for it. That soon after all those Horses, being four, dy'd. That he has since had great Losses in his Cattel, and was shortly after taken lame for some Days, and recover'd, but was so plagu'd with great Lice, that he was forc'd to burn two Suits of Cloaths, and then was well again.

*Richard Spencer* being sworn, said, That on the 1st of September last he heard *Amy Duny* say, That the Devil would



not let her rest, 'till she was reveng'd on Cornelius Sandeswell's Wife.

Anne, Wife to Cornelius Sandeswell, depos'd on Oath, That seven or eight Years ago, she having bought some Geese, Amy told her, *If she did not fetch 'em Home, they'd be destroy'd*; which happen'd accordingly. That Amy told her Husband, (who was her Landlord) That he must take Care of such a Chimney, or it would fall. That this Examinant reply'd, *'Twas a new one*. Soon after the Chimney fell down, as Amy had said. She said farther, That having a Firkin of Fish sent to her, which lay in *Leystoff Road*, she desir'd Amy to go with her, to help bring it home. Amy reply'd, *She would go when she had it*. Then this Examinant said, That she went to the Boat-man, and demanded the Firkin. The Men told her, *They could not keep it in the Boat from falling into the Sea, they thought 'twas gone to the Devil, they never saw the like before*. She ask'd them whether they lost any other Goods? They said, *Not any*.

This was all the Evidence. The Prisoners saying nothing material to any Thing that was prov'd against them, the Judge, in his Direction to the Jury, wav'd repeating the Evidence, to avoid any Mistake, and told the Jury there were two Things they were to enquire into, *First*, Whether or no these Children were bewitch'd. *Secondly*, Whether these Women did bewitch them.

He said he did not in the least doubt but there were Witches: *First*, Because the Scriptures affirm it. *Secondly*, Because the Wisdom of all Nations, particularly our own, hath provided Laws against Witchcraft; which implies their Belief of such a Crime. He desir'd them strictly to observe the Evidence, and begg'd of God to direct their hearts in the weighty Concern they had in Hand, since to condemn the Innocent, and let the Guilty go free, are both an Abomination to the Lord.

The Jury went from the Bar, and in half an Hour brought them in guilty of all the Indictments, being thirteen in Number.

The next Morning the three Children came to Sir *Matthew Hale's* Lodgings very well: And Mr. *Pacey* being asked at what Time they were thus restor'd to their Speech and Health, he answer'd, That within half an Hour after the Conviction of the Prisoners, they were all restor'd to

Health, and slept well that Night, without Pain, except *Susan Chandler*, who complain'd of a Pain like pricking of Pins in her Stomach.

After this, they came into Court; but *Anne Durent* was afraid to look on the Witches, and pray'd that she might not see them. But the other two declar'd in open Court, before the Prisoners, (who did not much contradict them) that all that had been sworn to, was true. After this, the whole Court being satisfy'd with the Verdict, the Witches were sentenc'd to be hang'd.

Great Endeavours were us'd to bring them to Confession, but in vain, and they were executed on *Monday* the 17th of *March*, but confess'd nothing.

### *Observations on the foregoing Tryal of Amy Duny and Rose Cullender.*

**I**T is very probable, that Mr. Justice *Powell* had never seen this Tryal, when he said in that of *Mother Wenham*, *That he never heard, that in any Witch's Tryal before, the afflicted Persons fell into a Fit in Court.* For here the Reader sees, that three Persons disturb'd, all fell into Fits at the Sight of the Prisoners; which was exactly the Case of *Anne Thorn*. She was to all Appearance very well in the Morning, 'till she saw the wicked Author of her Torments in Court; and then she fell into a Fit, as is related, p. 24. of the *Account of the Discovery of Sorcery, &c.*

But this Circumstance is not the only one in which these two Cases agree: For 1. As *Durent's* Child's Fits immediately succeeded upon *Amy Duny's* threatening her, *That she had as good have done otherwise, as have found Fault with her*; so in our Case, immediately before *Anne Thorn's* first Fit, *Jane Wenham* threaten'd Mr. *Gardiner*, as you may see p. 3. and before the second she had threaten'd *Anne Thorn* herself, *That if she told any more such Stories of her, as if she had bewitch'd her, it should be worse with her, than it had been yet*, p. 5. to say nothing of her threatening her after Condemnation, that *Anne Thorn* and *Anne Street* should not be well yet; which has exactly come to pass since.

2. These two Cases agree also in the Circumstance of the Witches appearing to the Afflicted, before a Fit, in her own Shape ; and the very remarkable Passage of Pins being convey'd by invisible Means to the Hands of the Persons afflicted, is so exactly resembling the Case of *Anne Thorn*, that they seem to be the same Story. If the Reader will compare the Evidence of *Diana Bocking* in this Tryal, with p. 19 of the Account, he will find they are so very much alike, that the one seems to be a Copy of the other.

Then their starting up with great Strength and Fury upon the Touch of the Witch, is the same in both Cases, their endeavouring to get at her to scratch her ; their continual crying out of her, or them : But there is this Difference in Favour of *Anne Thorn*, that she never recovered upon the Touch of any other Person, altho' she could not tell whether it was not the real Witch, her Eyes being fast clos'd ; whereas one of the distemper'd Persons in this Tryal being blinded, and supposing the Witch touch'd her, sprung up as usual ; when in Truth it was not the Witch, but another Person that touch'd her.

That part of *Margaret Arnold's* Evidence concerning *Elizabeth* and *Deborah Pacey*, that *Amy Duny* had been with *Deborah Pacey*, and tempted her to drown herself, or to cut her Throat, or otherwise to destroy herself, is but too nearly resembl'd in the violent Temptations both *Anne Thorn* and *Anne Street* have all along since their Illness struggl'd with, to destroy themselves ; and this they have been tempted to do sometimes by the Apparition of *Jane Wenham* in her own Shape, at other times by the Cat, which speaks to them, bidding 'em not mind what their Friends say to them, but kill themselves, and they should be well.

When the Reader compares the Evidence given at these two Tryals, he must needs perceive a vast Superiority of Strength in that of Mother *Wenham*. That which fix'd these Witchcrafts upon *Amy Duny* and the other, was chiefly the strong Imagination of the Parties afflicted, who cry'd out in their Fits, that these Women did appear to them, and torment 'em. There were indeed other Circumstances, such as their threatening the Relations of the Afflicted, &c. but this was the most material Proof. Now, the Prosecutors of *Jane Wenham* did not only bring all these Proofs, but strengthen'd them beyond

yond Contradiction by the Confession of the Prisoner herself, which was at large attested upon Oath by two reverend and worthy Divines.

I was very well pleas'd to find, upon reading this Tryal, that Sir *Matthew Hale* declar'd himself clearly of Opinion, that there were such Creatures as Witches upon the Authority of the Scriptures, as well as the Laws of all Nations, who would not have unanimously agreed in providing proportionable Punishments for the Offence, had they not been perswaded, that there really was such a Crime as Witchcraft. I shall now subjoin another very remarkable Instance of a Tryal, which in many Circumstances comes still nearer to the Case of *Jane Wenham*. It is taken out of the Collection of *Relations* at the End of *Mr. Glanvill's Sadducismus Triumphatus* ; together with Observations on such Parts of it as resemble *Wenham's* Case.

*An Abstract of the Relation of the Proceedings against Florence Newton, an Irish Witch of Youghall, taken out of her Tryal at the Assizes held for the County of Cork, September 11. 1661.*

**F***lorence Newton* was committed to *Youghall* Prison by the Mayor of the Town, *March 24. 1661.* for bewitching *Mary Longdon*, who gave Evidence against her at *Cork* Assizes, as follows :

*Mary Longdon* being sworn, and examin'd what she could say against the said *Florence Newton*, for any Practice of Witchcraft on herself ; and being bid to look on the Prisoner, her Countenance chang'd very pale, and she was afraid to look towards her ; but at last she did. Being ask'd whether she knew her ? she said *she did, and wish'd she never had.* Being ask'd how long she had known her ? she said, for three or four Years ; and that at *Christmas* last the said *Florence* came to the Deponent, at the House of *John Pyne* of *Youghall*, where the Deponent was a Servant, and ask'd her to give her a Piece of Beef out of the Powdering-Tub. And the Deponent answering her



er she could not give away her Master's Beef, the said Florence seem'd to be angry, and said, *Thou had'st as good have given it me ;* and so went away grumbling.

#### Observation.

*The Reader is desir'd to look back to p. 1. of the Account of Jane Wenham, where he will find something very like this in the Information of Matthew Gilston.*

*Mary Longdon goes on, and saith,*

That about a Week after, this Deponent going to the Water with a Pail of Cloaths on her Head, she met the said Florence Newton, who came full in her Face, and threw the Pail off her Head, and violently kiss'd her, saying, *Mary, I pray thee, let thee and I be Friends ; for I bear thee no ill Will, and I pray thee do thou bear me none.* And that she the Deponent went afterwards Home, and that within a few Days after, she saw a Woman with a Vail over her Face standing by her Bed Side, and one standing by her like a little old Man in Silk Cloaths ; and that this Man, which she took be a Spirit, drew the Veil from the old Woman's Face, and then she knew it to be Goody Newton ; and that the Spirit spake to this Deponent, and would have had her promise him to follow his Advice, and she should have all Things after her own Heart. To which she answer'd, *That she would have nothing to say to him, but put her Trust in the Lord.*

#### Observation.

*How very like is this Hypocrisy of Mother Newton, who, to gain a greater Power to do Mischief, pretended a Desire to be reconcil'd to Mary Longdon, is to that Part of Susan Aylott's Information, p. 13. of the Account, wherein she saith, That Jane Wenham came to her House, and look'd upon a Child which was in her Lap, and strok'd it, and said, Susan, you have a curious Child ; you and I had some Words, but I hope we are Friends, &c. Soon after which the Child dy'd strangely. The Woman in the Veil here mention'd, cannot but bring to Mind the Woman in the Riding-Hood, who appear'd to Matthew Gilston, p. 1. and Anne Thorn, p. 4. and 8. and the Spirits speaking to Mary Longdon, and tempting her, is almost the same with the Cat's speaking to Anne Thorn and Anne Street, tempting them to come out, p. 23 and 36.*

Mary.

Mary Longdon proceeds, and saith,

That within a Month after the said *Florence* had kiss'd her, she this Deponent fell very ill of Fits and Trances, which would take her on the Sudden, in that Violence that three or four Men could not hold her; and in her Fits she would often be taken with Vomitings, and would vomit up Needles, Pins, Horse-Nails, Stubs, Wooll, and Straw. And being ask'd whether she perceiv'd at these times what she vomited? She said, *She did; for she was not then in so great a Distraction, as in other Parts of her Fits she was.* And that a little before the first Beginning of her Fits, several (and very many small) Stones would fall upon her as she went up and down, and would follow her from Place to Place, and from one Room to another, and would hit her on the Head, Shoulders, and Arms, and fall to the Ground, and vanish away. And that she and several others would see them both fall upon her, and on the Ground, but could never take them, save only some few, which she and her Master caught in their Hands. Amongst which, one that had a Hole in it, she ty'd (as she was advis'd) with a Leather Thong to her Purse, but it vanish'd immediately, tho' the Leather continu'd ty'd on a fast Knot.

That in her Fits she often saw this *Florence Newton*, and cry'd out against her, for tormenting her; for she says that she would several times stick Pins into her Arms, and some of them so fast, that a Man must pluck three or four Times to get out the Pin, and they were stuck between the Skin and the Flesh. That sometimes she should be remov'd out of her Bed into another Room; sometimes she should be carry'd to the Top of the House, and laid on a Board betwixt two solar Beams; sometimes put into a Chest, sometimes under a Parcel of Wooll, sometimes between two Feather Beds on which she us'd to lie, and sometimes betwixt the Bed and the Mat in her Master's Chamber in the Day-time. Being ask'd how she knew she was thus carry'd about and dispos'd of, seeing in her Fits she was in a violent Distraction, she answered, *She never knew where she was, 'till they of the Family, and the Neighbours with them, would be taking her out of the Places whither she was so carry'd and remov'd.* And being ask'd the Reason why she cry'd out so much against *Florence Newton* in her Fits? she answer'd, *Because she saw and felt her Torturing.* And

And being ask'd how she could think it was *Florence Newton* that did her this Prejudice, she said, first, Because she threaten'd her ; then, because after she had kiss'd her, she fell into these Fits, and that she both saw and felt her tormenting. And lastly, That when the People of the Family, by Advice of the Neighbours, and Consent of the Mayor, had sent for *Florence Newton* to come to the Deponent, she was always worse when she was brought to her, and her Fits more violent, than at another time. And that after the said *Florence* was committed at *Tonghall*, the Deponent was not troubl'd, but was very well 'till a little while after the said *Florence* was remov'd to *Cork*, and then the Deponent was as ill as ever before. And the Mayor of *Tonghall*, one *Mr. Mayre*, then sent to know whether the said *Florence* were bolted (as the Deponent was told) and finding she was not, Order was given to put the Bolts on her ; which being done, the Deponent saith she was well again, and so hath continu'd ever since. And being ask'd whether she had such like Fits before the said *Florence* gave her the Kiss, she saith she never had any, but believes that with that Kiss she bewitch'd her. And therather, because she hath heard from *Nicholas Pyne*, and others, that the said *Florence* hath confels'd as much.

#### Observation.

Here are also some Things in which the Fits of *Mary Longdon* and *Anne Thorn* agree, particularly the great Strength of the Afflicted when in a Fit, so great that three or four Men could hardly hold 'em down. But there is one very remarkable Difference which I doubt not but my Reader has already taken Notice of, viz. That this *Mary Longdon* was always worse of her Fits whenever *Florence Newton* came into the Room ; whereas *Anne Thorn* constantly recover'd of her's at the Touch of *Jane Wenham*. And yet I think these different Appearances may be both accounted for the same Way. It is not reasonable to suppose, that either of these Alterations in the Afflicted, came to pass by the Consent or Procurement of the Witches themselves, who could not but perceive that they serv'd as strong Circumstances against them ; but this was done by the over-ruling Providence of Almighty God, to convict these miserable Creatures ; and either of these Ways might do as well as the other, since it is equally surprizing to see one in perfect Health fall into such terrible Fits at the Sight of any one Person, as to

see another recover out of such Fits upon the bare Touch of a suspected Witch; both of them tending only to the Discovery of the Criminal. Thus Anne Thorn fell into a Fit in Court, when she first saw the Witch, but recover'd at her coming near to her. Here also the Reader finds some strange Circumstances, as that of the Hail-stones falling upon Mary Longdon, her being remov'd up and down, &c. which are different from any related in the Case of Anne Thorn. But it cannot be expected, that all Witchcrafts should be alike; and that the Devil should be oblig'd to act always uniformly, is a very strange Postulatum, which yet some of our profound Arguers against Witchcraft very unreasonably demand.

*To go on with the Relation.*

This Mary Longdon having clos'd up her Evidence, Florence Newton peep'd at her, as it were, between the Heads of the By-standers that interpos'd between her and the said Mary, and lifting up both her Hands together as they were manacl'd, cast them in an angry violent Kind of Motion (as was seen and observ'd by W. Aston) towards the said Mary, as if she intended to strike at her, if she could reach her, and said, *Now she is down.* Upon which, the Maid fell suddenly to the Ground like a Stone, and fell into a most violent Fit, that all the People that could come to lay Hands on her, could scarce hold her, she biting her own Arms, and shrieking out in a most hideous Manner, to the Amazement of all the Beholders. And continuing so for about a Quarter of an Hour, (the said Florence Newton sitting by herself all that while, pinching her own Hands and Arms, as was sworn by some that observ'd her) the Maid was order'd to be carry'd out of the Court, and taken into an House; whence several Persons after that brought Word, that the Maid was in a vomiting Fit, and they brought in several crooked Pins, and Straws, and Wooll, in white Foam like Spittle, in great abundance: Whereupon the Court having taken Notice that the Maid had said she had been very well when the said Florence was in Bolts, demanded of the Gaoler if she were in Bolts or no: To which he said she was not, but only manacl'd.

Upon which, Order was given to put on her Bolts; and upon putting them on, she cry'd out, she was kill'd, she was undone, she was spoil'd; why do you torment me thus?



thus? and so continu'd complaining grievously for about half a Quarter of an Hour; and then came in a Messenger from the Maid, and inform'd the Court the Maid was well. At which *Florence* immediately and cholerickly utter'd these Words, *She is not well yet.* And being demand'd how she knew she was not well, she deny'd she said so, tho' many in Court heard her say the Words; and she said, if she did, she knew not what she said, being old, and distracted with her Sufferings. But the Maid being reasonably well come to herself, was, before the Court knew any Thing of it, sent out of the Town to *Toughall*, and so was no farther examin'd by the Court. This Fit of the Maid being urg'd by the Court with all the Circumstances of it, to have been a Continuance of her Devilish Practice, she deny'd it, and likewise the Motion of her Hands, or the saying, *Now she is down*; tho' the Court saw the first, and the Words were sworn by one *Roger Moor*. And *Thomas Harrison* swore, That he had observ'd the said *Florence* peep at her, and use that Motion with her Hands, and saw the Maid fall down immediately upon that Motion, and heard the Words, *Now she is down*, utter'd.

#### Observation.

*In nothing more does Jane Wenham resemble Florence Newton, than in her impudent Lying backwards and forwards, which was observ'd by all that talk'd with her while she was under Examination, and even since her Condemnation, she cannot leave it off, but it is every Day taken Notice of by all that come near her.*

*But to go on with this Relation.*

*Nicholas Stout* was next produc'd by Mr. Attorney-General, who being sworn and examin'd, said, That he had oft try'd her, having heard say that Witches could not say the Lord's Prayer, whither she could say that Prayer or not, and found she could not; whereupon she said she could say it, and had often said it; and the Court being desir'd by her to hear her say it, gave her Leave; and four times together after these Words, [*give us this Day our daily Bread*] she continually said, *As we forgive them*, leaving out the Words, [*And forgive us our Trespases*] upon which the Court appointed one to teach her these Words she so left out: But she either could not, or would not say them, using only these or the like Words, *Aye, aye, Trespases*;

*Trespases ; that's the Words.* And being oft press'd to utter the Words as they were repeated to her, she did not : And being ask'd the Reason, she said she was old, and had a bad Memory ; and being ask'd how her Memory serv'd her so well for other Parts of the Prayer, and only fail'd her for that, she said she knew not, neither could she help it.

#### Observation.

*In the Account above refer'd to p. 10 and 12, the Reader will find that this was exactly the Case with Jane Wenham. When she came to this very Petition, she could not repeat it ; no, not after another who rehears'd it slowly to her. 'Tis true, this Experiment was not made in Court, the Judge thinking fit to wave it, altho' it was desir'd by Mrs. Gardiner, towards the End of the Tryal. Neither did Mother Wenham care for it herself, having so often found herself foil'd at this Petition, and that, Lead us not into Temptation, &c. tho' her Memory was as good as Florence Newton's as to the rest of the Prayer.*

#### *To proceed with the Tryal of Florence.*

*John Pyne* being likewise sworn and examin'd, said, That about *January* last *Mary Longdon*, being his Servant, was much troubl'd with little Stones that were thrown at her wherever she went, and that he hath seen them come as if they were thrown at her, others as if they dropp'd on her ; and that he hath seen very great Quantities of them, and that they would, after they had hit her, fall on the Ground, and then vanish, so that none of them could be found. And farther, That the Maid once caught one of them, and he himself another, and one of them with a Hole in it, she ty'd to her Purse, but it vanish'd in a little Time, but the Knot of the Leather that ty'd it, remain'd unalter'd. That after the Stones had thus haunted her, she fell into most grievous Fits, wherein she was so violently distracted, that four Men would have very much to do to hold her ; and that in the greatest of her Extremities, she would cry out of *Gammar Newton* for hurting and tormenting of her. That sometimes the Maid would be reading in a Bible, and on the sudden he hath seen the Bible struck out of her Hand into the middle of the Room, and she immediately was cast into a violent Fit. That in the Fits he hath seen two Bibles laid on her Breasts, and in the Twinkling of an Eye, they would be cast

st between the two Beds the Maid lay upon, sometimes  
rown into the middle of the Room, and that *Nicholas*  
held the Bible in the Maid's Hand so fast, that it be-  
g suddenly snatch'd away, two of the Leaves were torn.  
that in many other Fits the Maid was remov'd strangely  
n the Twinkling of an Eye, out of the Bed, sometimes  
nto the bottom of a Chest with Linnen, and the Linnen  
ot at all disorder'd, sometimes betwixt the two Beds she  
ay on, sometimes under a Parcel of Wooll, sometimes  
etwixt his Bed and the Mat of it in another Room, and  
nce she was laid on a small Deal Board which lay on the  
op of an House betwixt two solar Beams, where he was  
orc'd to rear up Ladders to have her fetch'd down. That  
n her Fits she hath often vomited up Wooll, Pins, Horse-  
Nails, Stubs, Straw, Needles, and Moss, with a kind of  
white Foam or Spittle, and hath had several Pins stuck  
nto her Arms and Hands, that sometimes a Man must  
ull three or four times before he could pull one of them  
out, and some have stuck between the Flesh and the Skin,  
where they might be perfectly seen, but not taken out;  
nor any Place seen where they were put in. That when  
the Witch was brought into the Room where she was,  
he would be in more violent and longer-lasting Fits than  
at other Times. That all the Time the Witch was at Li-  
berty, the Maid was ill, and that as soon as she was com-  
mitted and bolted, she recover'd and was well; and that  
when the Witch was remov'd to *Cork*, the Maid fell ill;  
and thereupon the Mayor of *Toughall* went to see whether  
she was bolted or no, and to acquaint them the Maid  
was ill, and desire them, if the Witch were not bolted,  
they would bolt her. That she immediately recover'd,  
and was as well as ever; and when the Messenger came  
from *Cork*, and told them the Witch was bolted, it fell  
out to be the very Time the Maid amended at *Toughall*.

*Nicholas Pyne* being sworn, said, That the second Night  
that the Witch was in Prison, being the 24th of *March*  
last, he and *Joseph Thomson*, *Roger Harkins*, and some o-  
thers, went to speak with her concerning the Maid, and  
told her, that it was the general Opinion of the Town  
that she had bewitch'd her, and desir'd her to deal freely  
with them, whether she had bewitch'd her or no? She  
said she had not bewitch'd her, but it may be she had o-  
verlook'd her, and that there was a great deal of Diffe-  
rence

rence between bewitching and overlooking; and that she could not have done her any Harm, if she had not touch'd her, and therefore she had kiss'd her. And she said, that what Mischief she thought upon at that Time she kiss'd her, would fall upon her; and that she would not but confess, that she had wrong'd the Maid, and thereupon fell down on her Knees, and pray'd God to forgive her wronging the poor Maid. They wish'd that she might not be wholly destroy'd by her; to which she said it must be another that must help her, and not they that did the Harm. And then she said there were others, as Goody Halfpenny and Goody Dod, in Town, that could do these Things as well as she, and that it might be one of them that had done the Maid Wrong.

#### Observation.

*All this last Paragraph (altering only the Names) is true of Jane Wenham. She confess'd to several, that she had look'd upon Anne Thorn; which dark Expression, I must own, I was at a Loss to understand, 'till this very Passage explain'd it to me. I see now by it, that this is a Term of Art among the Witches, by which 'tis probable they mean some less Degree of mischievous enchanting; whereas, according to Mother Newton, the Word Bewitching seems to signify something still greater, perhaps hurting even to Death. Whatever be its Meaning, I declare that I very well remember Jane Wenham's saying that she had look'd upon Anne Thorn. The Conjecture of the Editor of this Edition of Mr. Glanvill's Book, in his Advertisement annex'd to this Relation, seems to be, that this overlooking, or (in Jane Wenham's Expression) looking upon, relates to ὀφθαλμοὺς βάσκανον, and that the Magical Venom came out at her Eyes when she kiss'd the Maid. And he leaves it to the Criticks in that black School, to determine whether this ὀφθαλμοὺς βάσκανον be not the first Sort of Witchcraft, distinct from that of bewitching People by Images made of Wax; and whether afterwards this Sort of bewitching by meer looking or touching, might not be call'd overlooking. To which I add, that it is a common Expression almost in every Body's Mouth, when they speak of a Person suppos'd to be bewitch'd, that he or she lies under an ill Tongue; and why they may not as well say under an evil Eye, as an ill Tongue, I do not see any Reason. However, I offer this only as Conjecture, and proceed farther to observe the Agreement of this whole Paragraph,*



graph, with the Case of Jane Wenham. Mother Newton  
 ere confesses, that she had done Wrong to the Maid. This al-  
 did Goody Wenham, and often would fall on her Knees, and  
 pray to God to forgive her what she had done. Mother Wen-  
 am was desir'd to help Anne Thorn if she could; but she  
 did she could not, for another was as deep in it as herself; and  
 Florence Newton nam'd two of her Neighbours, so did  
 Jane Wenham also name three Women of Walkerne, as her  
 confederates, but could prove nothing upon 'em. I must needs  
 say, when I first read this Story of Florence Newton, which  
 was not 'till after Jane Wenham's being committed to Goal, I  
 was not a little surpris'd to find such almost exact Agreement  
 between it, and those Passages to which I was an Eye and Ear  
 Witness; and it serv'd to me, as I doubt not but it will to the  
 Reader, as a strong Argument of the Being of Witches. For  
 how should two old Women, accus'd of a Crime merely imagina-  
 ry, in distant Times and Nations, agree so exactly in a Term  
 of Art, which is suppos'd peculiar to those who are guilty of  
 that Crime? How, I say, could this be, if there were no real  
 Foundation for it, no Ground at all for this critical Distinction,  
 between bewitching and overlooking.

Let us now go on with the Relation.

Nicholas Pyne farther saith, That towards Evening the  
 Door of the Prison shook, and she arose up hastily, and  
 said, What makest thou here at this Time of the Night? And  
 there was a very great Noise, as if Somebody with Bolts  
 and Chains had been running up and down the Room.  
 And they ask'd her what it was she spoke to? and what  
 it was that made the Noise? She said she saw nothing,  
 neither did she speak, and if she did, it was she knew  
 not what. But the next Day she confess'd it was a Spirit  
 and her Familiar, in the Shape of a Greyhound.

That he and Mr. Edward Perry, and others, took a Tile  
 off the Prison next to the Place where the Witch lay, and  
 carry'd it to the House where the Maid liv'd, and put it  
 into the Fire 'till it was red-hot, and then dropt some of  
 the Maid's Water upon it, and the Witch was then grie-  
 vously tormented; and when the Water was consum'd,  
 she was well again.

Observation.

The Reader will find, p. 20 of our Account, just such another  
 Experiment made at Walkerne, in which they also made use of  
 the

*the Maid's Water, only instead of dropping it on a Tile, they put it into a Stone Bottle; and it was observ'd, that while it was over the Fire, the Witch seem'd in great Torture.*

Nicholas Pyne farther saith,

That as to the Stones falling on, and cast at the Maid, as to the Maid's Fits, her Removal into the Chest, under the Wooll, betwixt the Feather Beds, on the Top of the Deal Board, betwixt two solar Beams, concerning the Bibles and their Remove, his holding one of them in the Maid's Hand 'till two Leaves were torn, concerning the Maid's vomiting, and her calling out against the Witch, he agreeth perfectly throughout with *John Pyne*, as before.

*Edward Perry* being likewise sworn, deposeth, That he, *Mr. Greatrix*, and *Mr. Blackwall*, went to the Maid, and *Mr. Greatrix* and he had read of a Way to discover a Witch, which he would put in Practice. And so they sent for the Witch, and set her on a Stool, and a Shoemaker, with a strong Awl, endeavour'd to stick it in the Stool, but could not 'till the third Time; and then they bad her come off the Stool, but she said she was very weary, and could not stir. Then two of them pull'd her off, and the Man went to pull out his Awl, and it dropt into his Hand with half an Inch broke off the Blade of it, and they all look'd to have found where it had been stuck, but could find no Place where any Entry had been made by it. Then they took another Awl, and put it into the Maid's Hand, and one of them took the Maid's Hand, and ran violently at the Witch's Hand with it, but could not enter it, tho' the Awl was so bent, that none of them could put it strait again. Then *Mr. Blackwall* took a Launce and launc'd one of her Hands an Inch and half long, and a quarter deep, but it bled not at all; then he launc'd the other Hand, and then they bled.

#### Observation.

*Here again Florence Newton and Jane Wenham agree in the Difficulty there was in fetching Blood of either of them. Page 19 of the Account, the Reader may see, that Mr. Chauncy stuck several Pins into Jane Wenham's Arms, and one up to the Head, yet no Blood follow'd, neither did she seem sensible of any Pain.*

*Edward*

Edward Perry farther saith, That after she was in Prison, he went with Roger Hawkins, and others, to discourse with the Witch about the Maid, and they ask'd what it was the spake to the Day before? and after some Denyal, she said it was a Greyhound, which was her Familiar, and went out at the Window; and then she said, *If I have done the Maid Hurt, I am sorry for it.* And being then ask'd whether she had done her any Hurt? she said she never did bewitch her, but confess'd she had overlook'd her, at the Time she kiss'd her, but that she could not now help her; for none could help that did the Mischief, but others. And farther the Deponent saith, That after at the Assize at *Cashal*, he meeting with one *William Lap*, and discoursing about these Passages with him, the said *Lap* told the Deponent, that if he would but take a Tile off the House near the Place where the Witch lay, and beat it red hot in the Fire, and then take some of the Maid's Water and drop upon it, that so long as this was doing, he should find the Witch grievously tormented. That afterwards he, *Edward Perry*, *Nicholas Pyne*, and others, put this in Practice, and found that the Witch was extreemly tormented and vex'd, and when the Experiment was over, she came to her self; and then they ask'd her how she came to hurt the Maid? and she said, That what Evil she thought against the Maid that Time she kiss'd her, that would fall upon her; and that she could not have hurt her, except she had touch'd her; and then she fell upon her Knees, and confess'd she had wrong'd the Maid, and desir'd God to forgive her. And then they put her upon saying the Lord's Prayer, but she could not say the Words, *And forgive us our Trespases.*

Mr. Wood, a Minister, being likewise sworn and examin'd, depōseth, That having heard of the Stones dropt and thrown at the Maid, and of her Fits, and meeting with the Maid's Brother, he went along with him to the Maid, and found her in her Fit, crying out of *Gammar Newton*, that she prick'd her, and hurt her. And when she came to her self, he ask'd her what had troubl'd her? and she said, *Gammar Newton.* And the Deponent said, *Why? she was not there.* Yes, said she, *I saw her by my Bed-side.* The Deponent then ask'd her the Original of all, which she related, from the Time of her begging the Beef, and after kissing her, and so to that Time. That then

they caus'd the Maid to be got up, and sent for *Florence Newton*, but she refus'd to come, pretending she was sick, tho' indeed it appear'd she was well. Then the Mayor of *Toughall* came in, and spoke with the Maid, and then sent again, and caus'd *Florence Newton* to be brought in, and immediately the Maid fell into her Fit far more violent, and three times as long as at any other Time; and all the Time the Witch was in the Chamber, the Maid cry'd out continually of being hurt here and there, but never nam'd the Witch, but as soon as she was remov'd, then she cry'd out against her by the Name of *Gammar Newton*, and this for several times. And still, when the Witch was out of the Room, the Maid would desire to go to Prayers, and he found good Affections in her in Time of Prayer; but when the Witch was brought in again, tho' never so privately, altho' she could not possibly, as the Deponent conceives, see her, she would be immediately senseless, and like to be strangl'd, and so would continue 'till the Witch was taken out; and then, tho' never so privately carry'd away, she would come again to her Senses. That afterwards *Mr. Greatrix*, *Mr. Blackwall*, and some others, who would needs satisfy themselves in the Influence of the Witch's Presence, try'd it, and found it several times, altho' it was done with all possible Privacy, and so as none could think it possible for the Maid to know either of the Witch's coming in, or going out.

#### Observation.

*Here is, as in Wenham's Tryal, a Clergy-man evidencing against the Prisoner, altho' I do not hear any Reflections made upon him for so doing; and there are two Things very remarkable in his Testimony, one, that he found good Affections in the Maid in Time of Prayer; the other, that there was a strange Alteration in her upon the Witch's coming into the Room. The first of these was always observ'd in Anne Thorn, who, as soon as recover'd out of her Fits, which was immediately upon their beginning to pray by her, always join'd in the Prayers with great Signs of Devotion and Trust in God, and in her Intervals, she was almost constantly reading or praying. There was also observ'd in her as great an Alteration upon Sight of the Witch, as in Mary Longdon, only it was for the better, which, as I have observ'd already, may be accounted for the same way as the others growing worse at the Presence of Florence Newton.*

The



The next Witness at the Tryal, was *Richard Magre*, Mayor of *Toughall*, who being sworn, saith, That about the 24th of *March* last, he sent for *Florence Newton*, and examin'd her about the Maid, and she at first deny'd it, and accus'd *Goody Halfpenny* and *Goody Dod*, but at Length, when he had caus'd a Boat to be provided, and had thought to have try'd the Water-Experiment on them all three, then *Florence Newton* confess'd, that she had overlook'd the Maid, and done her Wrong with a Kiss; for which she was heartily sorry, and pray'd God to forgive her. Then he likewise examin'd the other two Women, *Halfpenny* and *Dod*, but they utterly deny'd it, and were content to abide any Tryal; whereupon he caus'd *Dod*, *Halfpenny*, and *Florence* to be carry'd to the Maid; and he told her, these two Women, or one of them, were said by *Gammar Newton* to have done her Hurt. But she answer'd, *No, no, they are honest Women, but it is Gammar Newton that hurts me, and I believe she is not far off.* That then they afterwards brought in *Newton* privately, and then she fell into a most violent Fit, ready to be strangl'd, till the Witch was remov'd; and this for three several Times. He farther deposeth, That there were three Aldermen in *Toughall*, whose Children she had kiss'd, as he had heard them affirm, and that all the Children dy'd presently after; and as to the sending to *Cork* to have the Bolts put on, he swears as is formerly depos'd.

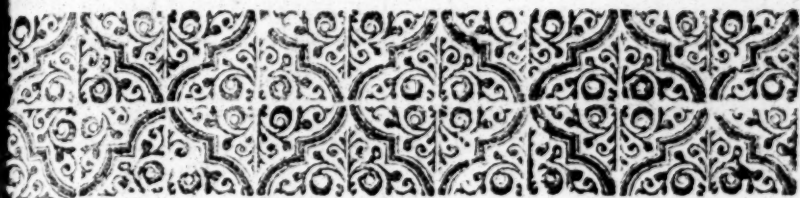
#### Observation.

Thus the Reader may find, p. 16 and 17 of the above-mention'd Account, that *Jane Wenham* accus'd three Women of *Walkerne*, who were brought before *Sir Henry Chauncy*; and while he was examining *Jane Wenham* concerning them, *Anne Thorn* fell into a Fit, and every one of these three Women were brought to her, and touch'd her, but she seem'd not to perceive them in the least. Then *Jane Wenham* was privately brought to her, and touch'd her, and she sprung up immediately as usual: and afterwards she said she could not say any Thing against these Women, who were thereupon discharg'd. It is really very remarkable to see these two Cases agree in so many minute Circumstances, insomuch, that the one Story seems to be only an Imitation of the other: And yet I can say, to my certain Knowledge, that all these Things were done before this Tryal of *Florence Newton* was taken Notice of by any concern'd in the Prosecution of *Jane Wenham*.

To proceed.

*Joseph Thomson* being sworn, said, That he went in *March* last with *Roger Hawkins*, *Nicholas Pyne*, and others, to the Prison, to confer with *Florence Newton* about the Maid, but she would confess nothing that Time: But towards Night there was a Noise at the Prison-Door, as if something had shook the Door, and *Florence* started up, and said, *What aileth thee to be here at this Time of the Night?* and there was much Noise. And they ask'd her what she spoke to? and what made the great Noise? But she deny'd that she spake, or that she knew of any Noise, and said, *If I spoke, I said I knew not what.* And they went their ways that Time, and went to her again the next Night, and ask'd her very seriously about the last Night's Passage, and the Noise. And then she confess'd to them, that it was a Greyhound that came to her, and that she had seen it formerly, and that it went out at the Window. And then she confess'd, that she had done the Maid wrong, for which she was sorry, and desir'd God to forgive her.

This was the most material Evidence against *Florence Newton*, for bewitching *Mary Longdon*. She was also indicted for bewitching to Death one *David Jones*, by kissing his Hand thro' the Prison-Gate; but this no way resembling *Wenham's* Case, I refer the Reader to the Relation it self, at the End of *Mr. Glanvill's Sadducismus Triumphatus*. One Thing only I shall take Notice of to him, that the Author of the Advertisement annex'd to it, saith, That he conceiveth this Relation to be taken out of a Copy of an authentick Record, every half Sheet having *W. Aston* writ in the Margent, and *W. Aston* at the End, whom he supposes to be some Publick Notary, or Record-Keeper. He adds this Witch of *Youghall* is so famous, that he hath heard *Mr. Greatrix* speak of her at my Lord *Conway's* at *Ragley*. And for my own Part, I hope the surprizing Agreement of this Story with *Jane Wenham's*, will sufficiently justify my inserting it here.



*A short ANSWER to the principal Objections made, first, Against the Being and Power of Witches in general: And secondly, The Case of Jane Wenham in particular.*

**A**FTER a Relation of Matter of Fact so very strange, and yet so well attested, as the Account of the Sorceries and Enchantments of *Jane Wenham*, I thought fit, in order to satisfy some well-meaning Men, who have imbib'd a strong Prejudice against the Being of Witches, to set before them the principal Objections against it; and in as clear a Method as I can, to shew the Emptiness of those noisy Exceptions made against the Prosecutors of *Jane Wenham*, as if they attempted to take away a poor Woman's Life, for a Crime that she cannot, if she would, be guilty of. But before I do this, I must premise, that nothing here alledg'd, is intended to convince those that deny the Being of *Spirits in general*, and in Consequence the *Immateriality of Human Souls*, and the *Existence of a God*. I don't pretend, by this plain Narrative, to convince *Atheists*, but refer 'em to the many excellent Authors that have treated on those noble Subjects, and shall here suppose my Reader to believe both the Being of a God, and the Truth of the holy Scriptures; and such a one I desire only to attend with Impartiality, while I endeavour to remove his Scruples.

In order to which, it is necessary, in the first Place, to fix the Meaning of the Word *Witch*; by which I mean *One, who, by open or secret League, consenteth to use the Aid and Assistance of an evil Spirit, in working Wonders beyond the ordinary Power of Nature*. By Wonders I do not mean *Miracles*, which can only be done by divine Power; but *strange Things*, *preter-natural*, not *super-natural*. The Hebrew Word [*Mecasseph*] is translated by the *Septuagint* *gappands*, which signifies *Veneficus*, in the vulgar Latin *Maleficus*,

*Maleficus*, altho' Dr. Moore saith from *Aben Ezra*, That the proper Signification of that Word, is one *qui mutat & transformat Res naturales ad Aspectum Oculi*. Take it in either of these Significations, or in both, it comes within the Definition of a Witch just laid down, as do all those other Words for a Sorcerer, which you find put together in the 18th Chapter of *Deuteronomy*, Ver. 10, 11. *There shall not be found among you any one that useth Divination, or an Observer of Times, or an Enchantor, or a Witch, or a Charmer, or a Consulter with a familiar Spirit, or a Necromancer.* All these Words imply doing or telling something wonderful, by Virtue of a Confederacy with an evil Spirit. The Word *opapauands* does also imply the making Use of natural Means, such as Herbs, Ointments, &c. to do strange Things withal, by the Assistance of their confederate Spirit. All these, I say, are so many Names for a Witch, who may have several Properties more than any one of these Names intimates; for which Reason they seem to be put all together in this Command of God to his People, not to suffer any such Persons among them.

Having thus fix'd the Meaning of the Word, I come to the first general Objection made against the Being of Witches, which is this :

*Obj.* 1. That the Actions ascrib'd to Witches, are impossible in their own Nature to be done by Man, and very ridiculous.

*Ans.* That there are indeed many Circumstances in the Stories of Witches, very strange and unaccountable, I readily allow; and farther, that they are impossible to be perform'd by Man, without the Assistance of some other Power: But then this very Thing is a strong Argument, that there is really the Assistance of some Spirit actually employ'd in doing these Wonders. If I see, for Instance, as in the Case of *Anne Thörn*, a poor lame Creature, that the Minute before could scarce creep on the Ground; if I see her on the sudden start up, and run with a most prodigious Swiftnes, and nimbly vault over a five-Bar Gate. When I see this, I say, I am ready enough to believe it could not ordinarily be done; but then, for that very Reason I ascribe it to the Power of the Devil; so that the seeming Impossibility of the Thing, proves it to be done by Witchcraft: And in such Cases all depends on the Strength and Credibility of the Evidence, as to Matter of Fact.



Fact. But certainly 'tis a very wild way of Arguing, to conclude, that because a Thing which is sworn by several and credible Eye-witnesses, is strange and unaccountable, nay, impossible to be perform'd by Man alone, that therefore it must be false, and never done at all. At this Rate no Man must believe his Senses, and consequently all the Testimony of Miracles to the Truth of the Gospel, falls to the Ground. Ought not rather every wise and discerning Man, at the Sight of such wonderful Things, immediately to apply himself to discover, whether the Thing may not, in its own Nature, imply no Contradiction, but be, altho' above the Power of Man, yet within that of some *other immaterial Agent*; and by other Circumstances to discover what that Agent is, whether a good Angel, or an evil Spirit?

We ought in these Cases carefully to distinguish between what is impossible in its own Nature, and consequently implies a Contradiction; and what may be done, altho' we cannot conceive the *Modus* of it; which shews indeed the Weakness of human Understanding, and the Imperfection and Short-sightedness of our Apprehensions; but is no more an Argument against the Reality of such Performances, than it is against the Truth of this Proposition, *The Fœtus is really form'd in the Womb of a Woman*, because we know not the Manner how it is so form'd. Methinks it favours too much of Pride and Conceitedness, for a Man to exalt his own Opinion above the clearest Testimony and plainest Demonstrations of Fact; and to chuse rather to give the Lie to all the World, than believe a Thing beyond the Reach of his narrow Conceptions.

As for Things of this Nature being ridiculous; if those who cannot understand, and therefore will not believe them, are resolv'd to turn 'em into Ridicule, who can help it? It neither detracts from the Truth nor Credibility of any Matter of Fact, that some, who are wise in their own Conceits, make a Jest of it. This only proceeds from a conceited Ignorance, the Censure or Applauses of which are equally below a wise Man's Regard. So that, in short, the Answer to this Objection, comes to this, That unless it can be prov'd that those Things are impossible to be done by any Power whatsoever, *that of Spirits not excepted*, this Objection can be of no Force against the Testimony of our Senses, or that of credible Eye-witnesses to *Matter of Fact*.

*Obj. 2.* It is very improbable that a Spirit of such Wisdom and Power as the Devil, should stoop so low as to submit to be at the Command of a silly old Woman, and run up and down to execute her petty Revenge.

*Ans.* That there are Orders and Degrees of evil Spirits, is not at all improbable; and, upon this Supposition, it will not be absolutely necessary, to put the *Prince of Darkness* himself upon these little servile Employments; but we may well enough ascribe it to one of his inferior Agents. It is also the Opinion of some learned and ingenious Men, that the Familiars of Witches, may be the departed human Souls of some wicked and malicious Men, possess'd with an insatiable Thirst after Mischief, which by the *Laws* and *Capacity* of their *Condition*, they may not be capable of executing themselves; these may be employ'd in some of the meanest Services of the Kingdom of Hell. We know that the Souls of good Men, in a separate State, are said to be *ἁγιοὶ*, or in a like Condition with the blessed Angels; and why then may not the Souls of evil Men be also *ἁγιοὶ*, in the worst Sense of the World, in a Condition or State like that of the infernal Angels? And what if we should farther suppose many of these Witches Imps, to be the departed Souls of some that have been Witches themselves! I see nothing unreasonable in this Conjecture; which if allow'd, a still more probable Account may still be given of some of the most vile and mean Performances of such Spirits; altho' all the greater Wonders of Witchcraft, such as raising Storms and Tempests, and the like, are undoubtedly done by the Devil himself, that *God of this World*, and *Prince of the Power of the Air*. I urge farther, that supposing these Familiars to be really *Devils*, that is, such *Spirits* as had before their Fall been *Angels of Light*; yet still the only Difficulty here objected, comes to this, That the greatest Degree of Wick'dness is also the most abject Baseness, and vilest Slavery. And how this can be of any Force against Matter of Fact, and the clearest Testimony, I leave to the Judgment of any sensible and impartial Reader. I come now to a more specious Objection.

*Obj. 3.* It is inconsistent with the Providence of God, to permit the Power of Witches to hurt the Innocent; such as Children, who are most subject to be bewitch'd.

*Ans.* Suppose I should bring an Argument against the Providence of Almighty God, from the other Dangers and

Violences

Violences that Children are expos'd to, either from Accident, or Cruelty of their Neighbours ; and upon Sight of a murder'd Child, should exclaim against the *Justice* of *Heaven*, for not miraculously protecting it against the Barbarity of its inhuman Butcher: Should I not immediately be reprimanded for murmuring against God, and forgetting the many and wonderful Preservations of others ? Should I not be put in Mind, that considering the Weakness of that State, it is rather wonderful that there should be so few Instances of this Kind, than that there should be any ? Just so it is in this Case, considering the Power, the Number, and implacable Malice of evil Spirits, it is only owing to the Care of Providence over us, that there are so few of us subject to their Power; and if some Witches are permitted to hurt now and then one of their innocent Neighbours, it is certainly for some wise and good End that they are so permitted ; such as perhaps the Discovery of the Witches themselves, the convincing of an Unbeliever, or some other wise Reason, which lies hidden from our Sight among the unfathomable Depths and Mysteries of Providence ; against the Being or Justice of which it is no more an Argument, than the unequal Distributions of Good and Evil in this Life, the Ignorance and Barbarity of the much greatest Part of the World, and the many Perils and Dangers we are all daily subject to. And if it be not a concluding Argument against the very Being of Providence, it cannot be sufficient to take away the Evidence of Sense in Matters of Fact.

*Obj.* 4. It is also objected, that the Strength of Melancholly, and Force of Imagination, ascribes any strange Event to Sorcery and Witchcraft, which is the more suspicious, because the Persons accus'd, are generally poor old Women ; and those afflicted, are, for the most Part, either Children, or weak ignorant People, that are easily impos'd upon.

*Ans.* That the Power of Fancy is very great, may easily be acknowledg'd ; and yet, I must needs say, it requires more *Credulity* to believe, that so many and so clear Circumstances of Fact, as, for Instance, the Conveyance of Pins through the Air into the Hands of a Person when they are ty'd down, or the finding of very curious and artificial Cakes of Feathers in a Pillow but a little before stuff'd with Down, and other the like strange Things, to

be all but the Work of Fancy, and that forty or fifty Spectators should be all, just at the same Time, impos'd upon by the same *chimerical* Imaginations: This, I say, requires more Credulity to believe, than all the Stories of Witchcraft put together. At this Rate, no Man can tell when or how to believe what he sees or hears; and it puts an End to the Credit of all human Testimony whatsoever. As for the Reason, why *silly old Women* should generally enter into these Combinations with the Devil, it is probable, that the Devil takes Advantage of this their *Ignorance and Poverty*; especially, if accompany'd with a malicious Mind, and a Custom of invoking the Devil in Curses and Imprecations, as in the Case of *Jane Wenham*; and that thus he more effectually secures their Souls to him for ever, and puts them, as far as possible, from any Likelihood of making their Peace with God by Repentance. However, there is nothing more to be concluded from this Part of the Objection, than that the *Policy of Hell* is unknown to us, which cannot destroy the *clear Evidence of Matter of Fact*.

*Obj. 5.* Another Objection is, That since the Times of the Gospel, there can be no Witches, because our Saviour Christ came to destroy the Works of the Devil; and it is notorious, that he is driven from his Temples, and all his Oracles are struck dumb; from whence it is probable, that he has no longer the Power he once had to assist his Servants in working Wonders.

*Ans.* The Scriptures do more than once expressly mention *Witches and Sorcerers*, since the Time of our Saviour Christ, witness that noted Place in the 5th Chapter of the Epistle to the *Galatians*, Verse the 20th. Besides which, the Story of *Simon Magus* alone might sufficiently confute this Objection, who work'd such Wonders, that he deceiv'd many: He, says the Author of the *Acts of the Apostles*, c. 8. v. 9. us'd *Sorcery*, and bewitch'd the People of *Samaritania*; and yet all the strange Things he did, were done by the assisting Power of the Devil; so that some Time after our Saviour's Ascension, this Power did remain to the great Deceiver; and I believe the Objectors will find it more difficult, than at first Sight it appears, to fix any Period of Time when this Power of Satan ceas'd. If they say it was, when he was driven from his Temples and his Altars, pray let 'em tell me when was that? Or are they  
sure



sure that ever there was such a Time? Does not the Devil still retain such a Dominion over the Minds of whole Nations in *America*, and other Parts of the World, that they erect Temples to him, and fall down before him, worshipping him as a *God*? And why this Part only of the Devil's Power, which consists in making *Compacts*, and entering into Covenants with such wretched Creatures as *Witches* are, should be taken from him, and all the rest left intirely to him, I must profess my self not able to imagine.

Besides, there is one ugly Consequence from this Objection, which I believe few of those foresee that have it so often in their Mouths, which is this: If from the Silence of Oracles, and the Extirpation of Idolatry, it may be concluded, that the Devil is also forc'd to leave off all Communication and Correspondence with such vile profligate Persons as *Witches*; no Reason can be given, why from the same *Topicks* it may not as well be collected, that he is also put from his *nearer* Temples *within* us, and unable any longer by his Temptations to seduce Mankind to eternal Ruin. There is as great a Congruity of one Consequence with the Premises, as of the other; tho', I must needs say, they can neither of them be prov'd by any Logick I ever yet met with. I shall only urge farther against this Objection, two other Places in the New Testament, wherein Sorcerers are expressly mention'd, and severely threaten'd. The first is, Revel. 21. 8. But the Fearful and Unbelieving, and the Abominable, and Murderers, and Whoremongers, and Sorcerers, and Idolaters, and all Lyars, shall have their Part in the Lake which burneth with Fire and Brimstone; which is the second Death. The other is in the last Chapter of the Revelations, v. 15. For without are Dogs, and Sorcerers, and Whoremongers, &c. Here you see no less than Fire and Brimstone in one Place, and perpetual Exclusion from the holy City, the New Jerusalem, in the other, expressly denounc'd against Sorcerers, who are reckon'd among the vilest Offenders, and most profligate Sinners, such as Murderers and Idolaters. Now, what a Jest is it to suppose the Scriptures all this while fighting with a Shadow, and threatening Damnation to those who shall be guilty of a Crime impossible to be committed? If this is not ridiculing the Word of God, I know not what is.

*Obj. 6.* I shall mention but one Objection more against the Being of Witches in general, which is such a one as I would willingly have omitted, on Account of its horrid Profaneness, were I not too well satisfy'd, that 'tis often made Use of among those who call themselves *Christians*; it is this: If we believe Witches can do Wonders by the Help of the Devil, how shall we know that the Miracles of our Saviour were not also the Effects of a *Diabolical Imposture*?

*Ans.* To this Objection, the best Answer will be in our Saviour's own Words to the unbelieving Pharisees, Matt. 12. 26. *If Satan cast out Satan, he is divided against himself, how then shall his Kingdom stand?* The Design of our Redeemer's coming into the World, was to destroy the Kingdom of Satan, to preach Repentance and Salvation to Sinners, and to shew us the Way to eternal Life; how then could the Miracles of Christ be attributed to the Power of Satan, which he came to pull down?

It ought farther to be consider'd, that the wonderful Works of the blessed Jesus were truly *Miracles*, that is, above the Power of any created Being (that of the Devil himself not excepted) to effect; such as raising one from the Dead, who had been really dead so long, that those of his Relations, who had bury'd him, suppos'd that by *this Time he stink'd*, Joh. 11. 39. And what was most wonderful of all, raising himself the third Day. Besides, the Miracles of Christ were all full of Love and Charity, such as healing the Sick, giving Sight to the Blind, Food to the Hungry in a Desert, &c. Whereas nothing but Spite, Envy, and Malice, appears in the strange Things done by these Confederates of Satan, the End and Design of them being to torment and hurt their Neighbours. The Miracles of our Saviour bear upon them the clearest Marks of the Finger of God of Mercy; whereas the Wonders done by Witches and Sorcerers, do plainly indicate a Hellish and Diabolical Malice. Those who are so forward to raise this Objection upon every Occasion, would do well seriously to consider what that Sin against the Holy Ghost is, for which there is no Repentance. This was, in the Opinion of the most learned Divines, nothing but the *attributing the Miracles of Christ to the Power of the Devil*; and let them have a Care lest they also come near the Commission of that dreadful Sin.

I have now done with the principal of those Objections, that are commonly rais'd against the Being and Power of Witches in general ; I come now very briefly to speak a Word or two to those which are more particularly urg'd against the Case of *Jane Wenham*.

And first, 'tis objected, that her Confession might be the Effect of Fear ; or if it was not, she might accuse herself falsely, only to be out of the World : That there have been Instances of this Nature, where discontented Persons have confess'd themselves guilty of capital Crimes whereof they were innocent, only to be rid of their Troubles by Death.

I answer, as to the first Part of this Objection, That the Confession of *Jane Wenham* was free and unconstrain'd, no Force having been us'd to bring her to it ; for the Truth of which, as I said before, p. 33. of the Account, &c. we appeal to Mr. *Archer* of *Sandon*, her near Kinsman, who was present, when she confess'd that she liv'd above sixteen Years in a Course of Witchcraft.

As for the other Suggestion, That possibly her Discontents might make her falsely accuse herself, to be out of the World, I allow, that in some Cases this Consideration may have its Weight. As for Instance ; Suppose a Man who labours under very great Troubles and Afflictions, and is known to be discontented, and weary of his Life, should voluntarily come before a Magistrate, and accuse himself of a capital Crime, and desire that the Punishment of Death may be inflicted on him for it ; and this, when there are no other Circumstances by which it may be thought probable that he did commit this Crime : In such a Case as this, a discontented Man's Confession alone, I must needs say, I think ought not to convict him. But this is quite another Case, and widely different from that of *Jane Wenham*. Here were very violent Presumptions against her, long before her Confession, which only serv'd the more strongly to prove what had been before alledg'd ; and indeed so strong was the Evidence against her, that many have been convicted upon weaker Proofs, without any Confession at all ; so that here is all the Reason in the World to believe her Confession. It is the Opinion of Mr. *Perkins*, in his Treatise of Witchcraft, p. 212. That when Proceeding is made against a Man at first upon good Probabilities, and he is thereupon drawn to a free Confession, that

which

which he hath manifested thereby, cannot but be a Truth. So I am sure it is reckon'd in other Cases, as Murders, Thefts, and other such Crimes; and why it should not be so in the Case of Witchcraft, I can see no Manner of Reason. If there be a Robbery committed, and a Man taken up for it upon strong Suspensions, that Man, if he confesses, shall, by such a Confession, be more strongly convicted; and, by Parity of Reason, if a Woman, upon violent Presumptions, is accus'd of Witchcraft, her Confession ought to be taken as a strong Confirmation of the Evidence brought against her.

*Obj. 2.* It is also objected, That one Part of *Anne Thorn's* Information, in which she says, that a Cat spoke to her, is very ridiculous and incredible.

*Ans.* Is it more ridiculous and incredible, that an evil Spirit should assume the Shape of a Cat, and in such a Shape speak so as to be heard and understood, than that the Devil should speak to *Eve* in the Shape of a Serpent? Which we are oblig'd to believe upon the Credit of Divine Revelation. 'Tis the Opinion of the pious and profoundly learn'd *Mr. Mede*, p. 223 and 224 of his Works, 'That there is a Law in the Commerce of Spirits and Men, 'that a Spirit must present himself under the Shape of some 'visible Thing: And he supposes farther, that as Spirits 'are to converse with Men under some visible Shape; so 'there is a Law given them, that it must be under the Shape of 'some such Thing, as may more or less resemble their Condition. From whence he concludes, that good Angels can take upon 'em no other Shape, but that of Man, the most excellent of all visible Creatures; and therefore he says an Angel is said to appear, in the Gospel, like a young Man, his Countenance like Lightning, and his Rayment white as Snow, as it were resembling Man in his glorious State before the Fall.

He supposes also, that while Man was in his Integrity, the Devil could not appear in an human Shape, but was forc'd to take up with that of a Beast, tho' the most subtil and sagacious one of all the Beasts of the Field. But now indeed the Case is alter'd, Man being also fallen, and one falling Star (says he) may resemble another; and therefore he sometimes appears in the Shape of Man in his Imperfection, like a deform'd old Man.

Now, upon the like Supposition, why may not a wretched Spirit appear in the Shape of one of the meanest of the



the *Brute Beasts*? There is no Shape too base and vile to represent one of those miserable Spirits, fallen for ever from God and Goodness, and become one of the vilest Slaves in the *Regions of Darknes*. As for the Truth of the Matter of Fact, it is too well confirm'd by the unhappy Experience of the two poor Sufferers, *Anne Thorn* and *Anne Street*, who almost every Day continue to see and hear this evil Spirit tempting and tormenting them in the Shape of a Cat.

Having now answer'd the most material Objections against Witchcraft, and this Case in particular, I submit the whole to the Reader's impartial Judgment; and as for those who are resolv'd to remain Unbelievers, and therefore will be very ready to start frivolous Objections, and ask impertinent Questions, I shall take no Manner of Notice of them, unless they will first make it appear, that a rational Account can be given of the whole Course of *Anne Thorn's* and *Anne Street's* Disorder, without ascribing it to the Witchcrafts of *Jane Wenham*.

I shall conclude all, with producing the Judgment of the learned Arch-Bishop *Tillotson* upon the following Text; which, I hope, will have some Effect with those who ridiculously object it to be meant of *Witchcraft*.

" *The Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy,*  
 " *ἵνα λύσῃ, that he might dissolve or demolish the Works*  
 " *of the Devil; by which St. John does more especially*  
 " *mean the idolatrous Worship of the Heathen, which consisted*  
 " *in the Multitude of their Gods, and the bloody and barbarous Rites and Sacrifices, whereby they worshipp'd*  
 " *them; and likewise in the Multitude of their Mediators,*  
 " *between the Gods and Men, who were also esteem'd*  
 " *by them an inferior Sort of Deities. Both these Kinds*  
 " *of Idolatry had strangely prevail'd, and over-run the*  
 " *World, before the Appearance of our Lord and Saviour,*  
 " *who came on Purpose to deliver Mankind from the horrible Superstition and Slavery of the Worship of false*  
 " *Gods, to pull down this Kingdom of the Devil, and*  
 " *to demolish that Fabrick which he hath been so long a*  
 " *rearing, and so beat him out of those strong Holds,*  
 " *which he thought had been impregnable. See Sermon*  
 17. *Posthum. Fol. Vol. I. Pag. 127.*

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